

THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
PEOPLE CALLED  
QUAKERS.

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ABRIDGED FROM THE WRITINGS OF JOHN GOUGH,  
WILLIAM SEWELL, &c.

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

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Vol. II.  
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LONDON,

PRINTED AND SOLD BY DARTON AND HARVEY, NO. 55,  
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HISTORY

BRITISH

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# HISTORY

OF THE

## PEOPLE CALLED QuAKERS.

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### CHAP. I.

FROM THE DECLARATION OF INDULGENCE TO THE  
DEATH OF KING CHARLES II.

**T**HE Dutch war being ready to break out (1672) the King, by the advice of his counsellors, seizes the opportunity, under colour of promoting domestic peace, while engaged in foreign war, to issue his proclamation for suspending the execution of the penal laws against nonconformists.

Those Friends who were at liberty, and free from the oppression of the penal laws, could not help feeling for their brethren under restraint, many of whom had been kept immured in uncomfortable prisons for several years. And as the present disposition of government in favour of nonconformists presented an opportunity to intercede in their behalf, some of the principal members in London, viz. George Whitehead, Thomas Moor, and Thomas Green, attended the King and council to solicit the discharge of their suffering friends, and were so successful as to obtain the King's letters patent, containing a discharge for all such to whom he might legally grant the same, whereby all that were

VOL. II.

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convicted

convicted for transportation, upon premunire, or in prison for fines, confiscations, or fees, were restored to their families, from which many of them had been separated for six or seven years and upwards.

When the warrant to the attorney-general to make out the letters patent was obtained, the Friends found themselves in a dilemma in respect to the fees to be paid in the sundry offices they were to pass through, understanding they would amount to a very great sum by reason of upwards of 400 to be included in them. The Lord Keeper, Sir Orlando Bridgeman, generously and voluntarily remitting his fees, they thought themselves under a necessity to make farther application to the King to moderate the rest, who accordingly issued his order, "That the pardon, though comprehending a great number of persons, do yet pass as one pardon, and pay but as one."

Their success in this application furnished these Friends with an opportunity of giving a specimen of their disposition to perform good offices to all, as far as in their power. There were some other dissenters confined in prison, and their solicitors observing the success of this application, applied to George Whitehead for his advice and assistance to get their imprisoned friends discharged with his, by procuring their names to be inserted in the same instrument; he advised them to apply to the King for his warrant for that purpose, which was accordingly obtained, and these were by the same instrument restored to liberty.

Those who were shut up in the different prisons in London, were almost immediately set at liberty: but how to extend the benefit thereof to those imprisoned in the country, and particularly the remoter counties, occasioned the Friends concerned considerable thought and trouble; for the patent containing

## PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS.

3

containing no less than eleven skins of vellum, was too long to take many copies, and too cumbersome to be easily carried far; yet being heartily engaged for the speedy release of all their friends, their care and industry surmounted the difficulties, and procured the liberation of their friends in a general way, even to the remotest part of the kingdom.

\* The Quakers being by these means freed from the severities of persecution, and molestation from the government, were not long left to enjoy that ease resulting from the King's declaration, before they were attacked from another quarter. During the heat of persecution, we have had repeated occasion to remark, that other dissenters, by a temporizing conduct, endeavoured to secure themselves from the storm. And the Quakers only bore their testimony publicly to that religion which they received as truth, by keeping up their meetings duly and fully at the accustomed times and places, as long as they were suffered to enjoy the use of their meeting-houses: and when they were kept out of them by force, they assembled in the streets as near to the meeting-houses as they could.

While this open testimony gave great offence to the persecutors, as baffling their scheme of establishing uniformity, and warding off the blow from the other sects of dissenters, who, as most feared and hated for the severities they had suffered under their hands, were principally aimed at; it procured them the esteem of the more ingenuous part of other dissenters, who, owning those as the bulwark that kept off the force of the stroke from them, and praying that they (the Quakers) might be preserved steadfast, and enabled to break the strength of the enemy. And some, especially among the Baptists,

\* Thomas Ellwood, p. 305, &c.



expressed a high opinion both of the people and their principles, which sustained them in undergoing sufferings, which were a terror to others to think of.

These favourable sentiments in the hearers raised the jealousy of some of their teachers; who in the time of persecution had lain by in cautious privacy; they soon made their public appearance in a hostile attack upon this inoffensive society, in vilifying that virtue which they had not the courage to imitate.

Thomas Hicks, a preacher among the Baptists in London, employed his pen in writing several pamphlets successively, under the invidious title of "A Dialogue between a Christian and a Quaker;"

The unfair dealing of this antagonist making a defence necessary, this business was undertaken by William Penn, in two books, the first entitled "Reason against Railing;" the other, "The Counterfeit Christian detected." In which Hicks is not only convicted of publishing many palpable forgeries, unfair perversions, and groundless calumnies against the Quakers at large; but having indulged his invidious disposition so far as to vilify sundry particular members by name, an appeal was made to the society of Baptists in and about London for justice against the author.

The principal of whom disingenuously appointed a meeting in one of their meeting-houses, under pretence of hearing the charges against Thomas Hicks, and calling him to account, at a time when the complainants were absent from the city in places too remote to be timely apprized of the intended meeting; wherefore some Friends desired it might be deferred till they could be informed thereof, and have time to return: but the Baptists could not be prevailed upon to defer it; but making a shew

## PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS.

5

How of examining Hicks, and hearing his defence, acquitted him.

As soon as William Penn returned to London, he in print exhibited his complaint of their unfair proceedings, and demanded a rehearing in a public meeting. Hicks would not appear, but sent Jeremy Ives, with some others of the party, by clamours and rudeness to divert the complainants from prosecuting the charge against him, and carried their point so far, as to prevent the charge being heard, though frequent attempts were made to read it.

About this time, as well as formerly, they were much engaged in controversy, being exposed to the invidious attacks and misrepresentations of adversaries of different denominations, who published as truth, every reproach that public rumour or private prejudice loaded them with; which obliged them in self-defence to vindicate themselves and their principles from the absurdities charged upon them\*; and yet we have occasion to complain of these refuted misrepresentations, picked out of the works of their bitterest adversaries, being revived, and delivered to the world as authentic history by sundry modern writers†.

George Fox, having returned from his visit to America, and landed near Bristol about the middle of this summer, was met there by his wife, accompanied by her son-in-law, Thomas Lower, and two of her daughters, and several friends from London. Being the time of the fair, many Friends came to it from different parts of the nation: and from the number of traders of all denominations then there, the meetings were much crowded. From Bristol

\* Many of the Baptists joined the Friends' society in consequence of this controversy.

† These have been in general answered, and in later editions of several historical works alterations made more agreeably to the truth.

he went to London, and after visiting his friends in their meetings, and their children in their schools, he set forward with his wife and Thomas Lower, towards home, and to visit his mother on her death bed ; but when they came into Worcestershire, he signified to his wife his apprehension that a prison would be his lot there, which filled her with sorrow. Soon after, having had a meeting at John Halford's, at Armscot, in the parish of Tredington, Henry Parker, a justice of the peace, in company with a priest named Rowland Hains, went to Armscot, and plotted together to break it up ; but being engaged in some business, they did not arrive until after the meeting was over. They found G. Fox and Thomas Lower in conversation with some Friends in John Halford's parlour, and under pretence of their having had great meetings, which might be prejudicial to the public peace, Parker, without any just cause or legal information, took them both prisoners, and sent them to Worcester jail. Being thus restrained from their purpose of conducting George's wife and daughters on their way, they were under the necessity to procure a friend to accompany them to their habitation at Swarthmore.

They applied by letter to the Lord Lieutenant and Deputy Lieutenants of the county, laying before them the state of their case, and illegal manner of their imprisonment, not from any meeting, but from a house where they had business ; that George Fox was on his way to visit his mother, who was desirous to see him, not being likely to live long, and by his imprisonment was restrained from paying this debt of affection to his aged and sick parent : this application was ineffectual ; yet Thomas Lower might have obtained his liberty by means of his brother's intercession, who was one of the King's physicians, and had procured a letter from Henry Savil,



## PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS.

7

Savil, gentleman of the bedchamber to Lord Windfor, for his release, if he had been willing to accept it singly; but bearing too great a respect to his father-in-law to leave him in prison, he suppressed the letter, and voluntarily continued his companions there.

On the 21st of the month called January, 1673, being the last day of the quarter sessions, they were brought to the court. At their entrance, the justices, as if convicted in themselves of their unjust treatment, appeared confused, and were for some time silent, insomuch that a person in the hall asked, What! are they afraid? Dare not the justices speak to them? At length Justice Parker made a long but very weak apology for his conduct, purporting that "he thought it a milder course to send those two to jail, than to put his neighbours to 200l. charge, by putting the law against conventicles in force." The chairman, Simpson, proceeding to examine them concerning the occasion of their coming thither; they gave so clear an account of themselves, and the reasons of their journey, as obliged him to own, "their account or relation was very innocent;" which as they had no evidence to contradict, nor cause to doubt the truth thereof, was a plain acknowledgment, that they had been causelessly imprisoned, and had a right to their immediate release. But as this act of justice would have been a censure upon Parker's irregular exertion of his power, they resorted to the usual mode of finding occasion of crimination from the tenderness of conscience, when they could not from the tenor of conduct; for Simpson, after whispering to Parker, addressed himself to George Fox after this manner: "Mr. Fox, you are a famous man, and all this may be true which you have said; but that we may be better satisfied, will you take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy?" To which he re-



plied, "I never took an oath in my life; but I have always been true to the government;" asserted his allegiance in full terms; shewing he had been twice imprisoned, first at Derby for not taking up arms against the King; and the second time sent up prisoner to Oliver Cromwell, under pretence of plotting to bring him in. And as to the oath of supremacy, he said, "I deny the Pope and his power, and deny it with my heart." While he was speaking, they cried, give him the book. He answered, "the book saith, Swear not at all." He was then ordered to be taken away; but the jailer not being hasty, they were urgent with him, crying, "Take him away, we shall have a meeting here! the fellow loves to hear him preach." The jailer then drawing him away, he said, "the Lord forgive you who cast me into prison for obeying the doctrine of Christ." After George Fox was taken away, the justices, afraid to proceed with equal rigour against Thomas Lower, on account of his more powerful connections, told him, he was at liberty. Upon which he queried of them, "Why his father-in-law might not be set at liberty, as well as he, since they were taken together for the same pretended offence." They told him "they would not hear him. You may go about your business, for we have nothing more to do with you, seeing you are discharged."

But Thomas not being easy to leave his father in prison, without further solicitation for his release, went to the justices at their chamber, desiring to know, "what cause they had to detain his father, that they had not against him; and why one should be discharged and the other not?" wishing them to consider, whether this distinction in their treatment of persons under the same circumstances might not be looked upon as an indefensible partiality. The justices not relishing such close reasoning, Simp-

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## PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS.

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son, thinking to deter him from further remonstrances, told him, "if he was not content, they would tender him the oath, and send him to his father." Lower replied, "Ye may do that if ye will, but whether ye send me or no, I intend to go and wait upon my father in prison, for that is now my business in this country." Justice Parker then made an apology for his conduct in the following terms: "Do you think, Mr. Lower, that I had no cause to send your father and you to prison, when you had so great a meeting; insomuch that the parson of the parish complained to me, that he had lost the greatest part of his parishioners; so that when he comes amongst them, he hath scarcely any auditors left." To this Lower returned, "I have heard that the priest of that parish comes so seldom to visit his flock, (but once, it may be, or twice in a year to gather in his tithes), that it was but charity in my father to visit so forlorn and forsaken a flock. And therefore thou hadst no cause to send him to prison for visiting and instructing them, who had so little comfort from their pastor, who comes among them only to seek for gain from his quarter." At this the justices broke into a laughter; for Dr. Crowther, the priest spoken of, was then sitting with them in the room, unknown to Thomas Lower, and he had the sense to let it pass without reply. But when Thomas Lower was gone, the justices, highly diverting themselves at Crowther's expence, he was so nettled, that he threatened to sue Thomas Lower in the Bishop's court on an action of defamation; which coming to Thomas's ears, he told him to his face, "that he might commence his suit as soon as he pleased; that he would answer it, and bring his whole parish in evidence against him." So the priest in conclusion thought it the wisest course to let it drop.

Some days after an *habeas corpus* came down for removing

removing George Fox to the King's Bench bar at Westminster. On receipt whereof the under sheriff made Thomas Lower his deputy to convey him to London, where they arrived on the 2d of the month called February, and appearing in court, his case was argued, but no determination come to at that time; he was ordered into the custody of the marshal, and another day appointed for hearing it.

In the mean time Parker had, in concert with other adversaries, dispersed a malicious report, "that there were many substantial men with Geo. Fox, out of many parts of the nation, when he was taken, and that they had a design or plot in hand; and that Thomas Lower staid with him in prison, long after he was set at liberty, to carry on the design." By which, and other false reports, the judges, who seemed inclinable to set George Fox at liberty, were prevailed upon to remand him to Worcester, only this favour was granted him, that he might go down his own way, and at his leisure, provided he would not fail to be there by the assizes, which were to begin on the 2d day of the next month. He appeared accordingly at the assizes before Judge Turner, who formerly passed sentence of premunire against him at Lancaster. That judge seemed inclined to release him; but Parker endeavoured to prevent it, by insinuating "that he was a ringleader, that many of the nation followed him, and that nobody knew what it might come to." The judge, though he knew better, being willing to ease himself, referred the matter back to the sessions again, bidding the justices terminate it there, and not trouble the assizes any more.

The time of the sessions being come, George Fox was called before the justices. One Street being chairman, opened his trial with a speech of the like tenor with Parker's vain pretences for committing him



him to prison, and it is probable suggested by him, wherein by misrepresenting the circumstances of their religious meeting, in order to infuse into the people a notion of danger to be feared therefrom, and to give a colourable pretext for their proceedings, he said, "That George Fox had a meeting at Tredington from all parts of the nation, to the terrifying of the king's subjects, for which he had been committed to prison, and that for the trial of his fidelity the oath had been tendered to him." Then turning to George Fox, he asked him, "since he had time to consider of it, whether he would now take the oaths?" George Fox first vindicated himself from the misrepresentations of the chairman, repeated the relation of his journey, and the cause of it, as he had done at the former sessions, when they could not help acknowledging his account to be clear: That as to some being there from different parts of the nation, they were principally of one family, and in one company, except a friend from Bristol, who came accidentally or providentially, as it was to him they were obliged for attending his wife and daughters on their way home, when Thomas Lower and he were intercepted by Parker. That it was not true that there were persons from all parts of the nation, nor that their meeting was to the terrifying of the king's subjects; desiring them to produce one evidence, who could say, they were terrified thereby. That he could honestly declare his allegiance to the king in plain terms in any assertion short of an oath. Upon his refusal of the oaths, an indictment, ready drawn up, was read to him, and the chairman asking him, if he was guilty? He replied, "No, for the indictment is a bundle of lies." The indictment was delivered to the jury, who under the instructions of the chairman found the bill against him, which he

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determined



determined to traverse, and then was required to put in bail until the next sessions; but he refused to be bound any otherwise than by his promise to appear, if the Lord gave him health and strength, and he were at liberty.

So he was sent back to prison; but by the interposition of the more moderate justices (who had manifested a favourable disposition in the court, endeavouring to prevent the tender of the oath and the indictment) in about two hours after he had liberty given him to go at large until the next quarter sessions.

The yearly meeting in London falling out in the intermediate time, he attended it. And at the instance of some Friends he appeared before the justices of the King's Bench, and delivered to them a declaration of his fidelity to the king, and denial of the Pope's supremacy, as what he could promise in lieu of the oaths; but as his case was under cognizance of the quarter sessions at Worcester, the judges were unwilling to meddle with it, not being regularly before them.

After the yearly meeting (1674) he returned to Worcester, and appeared at the quarter sessions to traverse the indictment; when proceeding to shew the errors, which were sufficient to quash it, he was stopped; the oath required of him again, and upon his refusal to take it, the jury found him guilty. An admonition of the consequence of a premunire being given him in court, this was clandestinely recorded for the sentence thereof, after he was sent out of court; being to evade the censure due to their illegal proceedings, as several of the justices, and the generality of the people condemned them: Nay, his persecutors themselves seemed at last affected with compunction for the wrong they had done him, and wished he had never come thither to trouble them, upon which George Fox observed, they had brought

brought the trouble upon themselves : But they had gone too far to make a handsome retreat, and therefore thought it less dishonourable to persevere in the wrong, than to right the injured, by owning and reversing it.

Under the sentence of premunire he was remanded to prison, where he was soon after seized with a dangerous fit of sickness, so that his recovery seemed doubtful. Upon this account application was made to Parker, for liberty for him to be removed out of the jail into the city, who after much importunity wrote a note to the jailer, desiring that favour, for the benefit of air for his health, might be shewn him.

George Fox's wife finding him fixed in prison under sentence of premunire, came up from the north to attend him, and also to solicit his discharge, and after staying with him three or four months, and seeing no discharge likely to be obtained, she took her journey to London to solicit the king : was kindly received by him, and referred to the Lord Keeper, who told her, " the king could not release her husband any otherwise than by a pardon," which the king would readily have granted ; but George Fox was not easy to obtain his liberty in that method ; for knowing his own innocence, he thought the acceptance of a pardon would be a tacit acknowledgment of guilt ; wherefore he declared, " he had rather lie in prison all his days, than come out in any way dishonourable to the truth he had made profession of." He rather chose to have the validity of his indictment tried before the judges ; and accordingly procured an *habeas corpus* to remove him once more to the King's Bench bar, where appearing before the four judges, Counsellor Thomas Corbet was employed to plead for him, who acquitted himself with great honour. He advanced a new plea, " that by law they could not imprison any man  
upon

upon a premunire :” upon the hearing this unexpected plea, the judges required time to consult their books and the statutes, and postponed the hearing until next day. When finding Corbet’s opinion was well founded, they chose to omit further notice of the plea, and proceeded to examine the indictment, in which the errors appeared so many and so gross, that the judges were unanimous in opinion, “ that the indictment was quashed and void, and that George Fox ought to be set at liberty.” As the oaths were tendered to sundry great men that day in court, there were not wanting some adversaries to George Fox, who moved the judges, that the oaths might be tendered to him again, insinuating “ he was a very dangerous man to be at liberty.” But Sir Matthew Hale at this time presided at the King’s Bench, who was too honest to lend an ear to such suggestions, saying “ he had indeed heard some such reports of George Fox, but he had also heard more good reports of him.” So after a full hearing before the four judges, he was discharged by proclamation, after he had suffered an unjust imprisonment of a year and almost two months, and thus obtained his liberty in an honourable way, without impeachment (by implication) of his innocence.

After his release, he staid in and about the city until the yearly meeting, where he had the opportunity of seeing many Friends. When the meeting was over, he went down with his wife to her habitation at Swarthmore, by coach, not being able to ride on horseback ; the indisposition he contracted in his late imprisonment having reduced him to a state of great weakness, from which he was some time in recovering.

The revocation of the indulgence (1674) and the displeasure of the court against the dissenters, gave fresh spirit to the persecuting magistrates. Prosecutions now began to be renewed against the Quakers in all the various modes of distress. For keep-  
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ing up their religious meetings they were still a prey to idle and profligate informers.

Under the pressure of their sufferings, application was made to the judges (before they went their several circuits) for their compassionate attention to the hard cases of several of the sufferers, and to interpose their authority for their relief. But little redress could be obtained, for no change in the temper of the times brought as yet any durable or effectual relief to the sufferings of *this society*; for they rather grew heavier during the remainder of this reign.

Many of them continuing to be imprisoned for refusing the oath of allegiance, William Penn this year wrote his *Treatise of Oaths*, wherein he shews their reasons for "not swearing at all," and confirms them by numerous authorities.

In consideration of the unhappy divisions prevailing in the nation, he also wrote this year, a treatise, under the title of "*England's present Interest considered*," wherein, to allay the heats of contending parties, he shews the consistency of a general liberty of conscience with the peace of the kingdom: a work wherein real Christianity and genuine patriotism are eminently conspicuous.

While William Penn was thus employed in pointing out the true interests of the nation, Robert Barclay was appropriating his labours to the service of truth, and of the society of which he was a member; it was in this year he published his "*Apology*\* for the true Christian Divinity, being an explanation and vindication of the principles and doctrines of the people called Quakers;" to which he prefixed an epistle to King Charles II. remarkable for the honest simplicity of address; presenting him with plain truth and pertinent reflections, worthy of his

\* See an opinion of this book in the French Encyclopædia, under the word *Quaker*. Also Cato's Letters, vol. iv. p. 226. Norris's Treatise on Divine Light, &c. Gough vol. ii. p. 405. observation,



observation; to which, however, he seems to have paid too little regard.

In the course of this year, 1675, William Hall, of Congleton in Cheshire, being fined 20*l.* for a meeting at his house, had his dwelling house broken open, and two cartloads of goods carried away, worth 40*l.* Besides which they took away a mare of his, which, after some time, came home again: upon which he went with two neighbours to the magistrate of the place, and gave him information of her return, and what field she was in. Notwithstanding this they caused him to be arraigned for felony, on an indictment for stealing the mare: but he was acquitted upon his trial, this attempt to commit murder by law, being too barefaced to prevail upon any judge or jury to bring him in guilty.

About the same time cattle and goods to the value of 100*l.* were taken from sundry persons in and about Namptwich. From Randal Elliot they took the bed he lay on, and even the dunghill in his yard. When some of the sufferers on an appeal were acquitted by the jury, the justices would not accept their verdict, but at the next sessions gave treble costs against the appellants. The chief informer was John Widdobury, of Hanklow, Esq; who being indebted 40*l.* upon bond to Thomas Bradsley, a member of that meeting, upon his demand of payment, was incensed against him, and thus vented his wrath upon his friends. He also got an old excommunication revived against Thomas Bradsley, and sent him to prison, (threatening to send his wife after him,) for asking for his own.

This year William Bailey died at sea, in his voyage from the West Indies. He had been a teacher among the Baptists at Poole in Dorsetshire, where he was convinced by the ministry of George Fox, in 1655. and entered into society with the people called Quakers, amongst whom he became a zealous preacher,

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preacher, and travelled abroad in the exercise of his ministerial gift: in which religious exercise of love to his fellow citizens, it was his lot to participate in the sufferings of his brethren, in frequent imprisonments, both during the time of the commonwealth and after the restoration.

For some time he followed a seafaring life for the maintenance of his family, and was instrumental to convince and confirm in the truth many inhabitants of distant countries, being concerned to propagate righteousness, wherever an opportunity presented itself. In his last voyage, on his way from Barbadoes, when he perceived the approach of his dissolution, addressing himself to the master of the vessel, he said, "Shall I lay down my head in peace upon the waters? Well, God is the God of the whole universe; and though my body sink, I shall swim atop of the waters." Afterwards, under the comfortable sense of divine support bearing him up in this trying scene, he said, "The creating word of the Lord endures for ever." He took several that were about him by the hand, exhorting them, "to fear the Lord, and then they need not fear death: death, said he, is nothing in itself, for the sting of death is sin. Tell the Friends in London, who would have been glad to see my face, I go to my father and their father, to my God and their God. Remember my love to my dear wife\*; she will be a sorrowful widow; but let her not mourn too much, for it is well with me." Then having given the master some instructions about his outward affairs, he expressed, "that as to his wife and children, he had left them no portions; but had endeavoured to make God their father." Then taking

\* He married Mary Fisher, who visited Boston, the Turkish Empire, &c. of whom an account hath been given in this work.

his leave of the company, he said, "I cannot see one of you, but wish you all well." And after several sensible observations, expressive of the serenity of his mind, he quietly departed this life, on board the *Samuel*, of London, in the latitude of 46°. 1675.

In the latter part of this year Matthew Hyde, a person who had been troublesome in the meetings of the people called Quakers, by opposing their ministers, and disturbing them in their worship, was taken sick; and apprehending his death approaching, was seized with remorse for what he had done; so that he could not be easy, until he had sent for some of that people, particularly George Whitehead, to whom he expressed great sorrow for the wrong he had done them, acknowledged them to be the children of God, earnestly begged mercy of the Lord for his wilful opposition to known truth, in gainsaying them; and died very penitent.

In London prosecutions on the conventicle act seem to have subsided during this year, 1676; but the prosecutions for ecclesiastical demands were numerous, and many of them exorbitant; for though the prosecutions upon other accounts seem at times to have been relaxed through the lassitude of the magistrates in imprisoning and punishing, and other causes, yet the rigorous enforcing of the ecclesiastical laws was rarely or never suspended; self-interest and antipathy to a people whose principles struck at the root of priestcraft, excited the priesthood incessantly to the execution of the severest laws in their favour. The number plundered, excommunicated, imprisoned, and of those who laid down their lives in prison, in consequence of these prosecutions is too large to recite particularly; every year from the time of the Quakers being known as a people to this period, and long after, furnish abundant instances of disastrous sufferings on one hand,



hand, and prosecutions, disgraceful to Christianity, on the other.

Robert Cooper, of Cheshunt, Hertfordshire, was this year imprisoned at the suit of Robert Winchestly, priest, a prosecutor so rigid, that he gave special orders to the jailer to keep him close, and not let him go into the town for any refreshment. To some Friends pleading for him, that he was a poor man, had a wife and many children, this priest returned this answer; "If his children starve it is none of my concern: he shall lie there and rot: I will have no more mercy on him than on a thief; if the law would hang him, I would: tithe is my due, and I will have it."

And though the penal laws were then suffered to lie dormant in London, yet in several parts of the nation they were enforced with rigour. In Norwich, Thomas Wilton, who by hard labour supported his wife and five small children, was fined for being at a meeting. The officers, pitying his circumstances, reported to the justice that the man had little in the house except the bed he and his family lay on. The obdurate magistrate ordered them to take his bed, which they did the next day, and left him and his family to lie upon the straw. His wife after this, endeavouring to maintain her children by baking a little bread, and selling it in the market, the officers made a seizure even of that, at one time to the value of nineteen-pence, at another to the value of fourteen-pence.

When the officers came to Anthony Alexander's house to make distress, one of them, Erasmus Cooper, told his wife, who was big with child, "he was come to seize all they had, and that he would not leave her a bed to lie on." They broke the doors with a pick-axe, and their behaviour was so brutal, that the observation thereof drew tears from the neighbours. And in the insolence of office, commanding



manding Alexander's man to help them, and being told how unreasonable it was to require a servant to take away his master's goods, one of them churlishly answered, "They are our goods." For a fine of 7*l.* they took away goods to near the value of 18*l.* The same officers came to the house of Samuel Duncan, bringing with them Tenneson the informer, and the hangman; here they stayed several days and nights, keeping Samuel's wife, who was big with child, a prisoner in her own house, not suffering her to speak to any person even at the door, nor admitting any access to her. They broke open all the doors which were locked, and carried away goods to the value of 42*l.*

Both the magistrates and peace officers, well knowing the penalties they were subjected to, and the advantage given to these informers by the last act against conventicles, in case of any backwardness or omission on their part in executing it to the full, were often, for fear of them, urged to severities to which their natural feelings were reluctant, and were frequently fined upon complaints of these informers. Of this we meet with an instance at this time and place. William Poole, a constable of Norwich, coming unwillingly with an informer, who compelled him to accompany him to the Quakers meeting, and being affected with the doctrine he heard preached there, cried, with tears in his eyes, "What shall I do? I know the power of God is among you." And turning to the informer, said, "if there was a curse hanging over any people upon earth, it was upon the informers."

Which remark seems verified by the event; for their ill-gotten plunder did them little service\*. Many of them, as they lived in infamy, died in misery and extreme poverty; some came to untimely

\* See Gough's History, vol. ii. p. 418.

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ends, and many of them were thrown into jails, and there ended their lives. Tennison was of the number of those who were cast into jail, where he confessed, "he had never prospered since he undertook that work, and that, if he obtained his liberty, he would never be concerned in it again."

The distresses made this year in Nottinghamshire, upon the members of this society, for their religious assemblies only, amounted to 712l. and upwards; many of which were exorbitant, and the fines frequently levied upon slight, and sometimes false, informations: and though the law admitted an appeal to the quarter sessions, we are here presented with a fresh instance of the ineffectual relief to be attained by an appeal to justices, more tender of one another's honour, than the grievances of the sufferers.

John Sayton was informed against, and fined by Justice Thoroton 20l. for being at a meeting in the parish of Blythe, at a time when he was sixty miles from thence. He appealed to the quarter sessions, and with difficulty obtained a hearing of his case: the jury, finding the matter clear, brought in a verdict for the appellant; whereupon Penniston Whaley, one of the justices, who had before manifested his virulence, and ignorance of the Quakers and their principles, in his endeavours to enforce the act 35 Eliz. ordered them out again, whereunto one of them replied, "We are agreed, and have well considered the matter." Unable to restrain his wrath, he flung off the bench in a rage, saying, "You deserved to be hanged, you are as bad as highwaymen; I hope the King will take away juries, for this will not do." Thus Sayton was acquitted, and this jury dismissed, to make way for another, more pliant to the instructions of the court. Next morning another jury was impannelled, and another appeal of the like nature came on. The case was that  
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of William Hudson, whom the evidence could not prove to have been at the meeting he was charged with, and though eight of them were picked men, known to be adverse to the appellant, yet the other four stood out, and no verdict was agreed upon until eight at night; when one of the four being taken ill, and wanting refreshment, Justice Whaley told them, if they did not agree, they should stay there until they died, and if one of them died the court would chuse another. They were overawed into a compliance, and after the court was adjourned, privately gave in a verdict against the appellant; when one of the jurymen said, "he would gladly do equity," Thoroton, another persecuting justice, replied, "You have nothing to do with equity."

In the city of Hereford, the severe prosecution of the late law against sundry members of this society, the partiality of the justices in frustrating appeals to the sessions for redress, by refusing to accept the juries' verdicts for the appellants, being found insufficient to deter this people from keeping up their meetings, the magistrates and priests, seeing they could not suppress them by the enforcing of rigorous laws, seem to have combined to attempt it by lawless violence.

On the 20th of the month called August, Henry Caldicott, mayor of this city, with his officers, came to the meeting there, and warned the assembly not to meet any more; telling them, "if they did, let it be at their peril." The sequel fully explained the meaning of this menace, being followed for several months with insults from the populace. They first beset the meeting-house with confused noise, to terrify the people assembled within it; next, some broke the windows; others with staves struck the men's hats off their heads, threw stones among them, and one of them, said to be the mayor's son, broke John Rea's head with a stone. At another time they fired  
squibs,



squibs, and threw them into the meeting, cast stones through the broken windows, and struck a woman on the head. When complaints of these abuses were made to the mayor, the complainants were dismissed with threats. The next time the mob, part of which were choristers, or singing boys of the cathedral, encouraged, as reported, by their superiors, broke the remainder of the glass windows, with the window-frames, and some of the walls of the house. After the meeting broke up, they pursued the country Friends, pelting them with stones near a quarter of a mile.

The next day a meeting was held in the shattered house for church affairs. Then the rabble assembled by sound of horn, throwing dirt, stones, &c. amongst them, whereby several were much hurt. Some mounted on the roof of the house and untiled part of it, tumbling down stones on one going in. In the midst of these disorders Edward King and Robert Simonds, justices, and Abraham Seward, mayor elect, came, not to quell the fury of the rabble, but to send the abused to prison; to effect which, after threatening the women and children, they tendered the oaths of allegiance and supremacy to eight of the men, and for refusing to swear, sent them to jail.

They continued the like abuses through the remainder of this year, and part of the next. The sufferers having got the house repaired, it was again beset by the multitude, who threw stones as before, being reported to be instigated by the mayor's officers, who are said to have bade them, "knock out the Quakers brains, if they did not depart." They also threatened the inhabitant "to pull the house down over his head." At another time one of these officers threatened, "they would fire the meeting house, and broil them in it."

In

In the winter beginning the year 1677, George Fox left Swarthmore, having spent near two years there for the recovery of his health, and had been little abroad amongst his friends. On his arrival at London, he was received with gladness by all his friends; and stayed there during the yearly meeting.

In those early times most of the business of the yearly meeting was to receive account of Friends' sufferings, and take measures for their relief; so at this time accounts were received of the heavy sufferings which Friends in many parts were exposed to (as well as by other laws enforced against them) by prosecutions on the act of 23 Eliz. as popish recusants, by which they suffered the confiscation of the two-thirds of their estates, whilst real recusants were little molested. A specification of this grievance was drawn up, and laid before the parliament then sitting, with a petition for relief; but they obtained no redress. The meetings, however, were comfortably conducted in brotherly unity, to the mutual edification of the body assembled on that occasion.

Soon after the yearly meeting, 1677, George Fox, accompanied by William Penn, Robert Barclay, George Keith, and others, went over to Holland to visit Friends in that republic.

In Cheshire, we meet with a fresh evidence this year, of the unreasonable use made of the last act against conventicles. Peter Leicester, a justice of peace, acting the part of an informer, came to a meeting at the house of William Gandy, shut the doors, and placed a guard of soldiers at them, while he took a list of about two hundred names; fined Margaret Fox and Thomas Docwra each 20l. for preaching, and 20l. to be levied on several of the assembly for the house in which they met; for which he issued his warrants of distress, threatening the

the constables, "that if they did not execute them to the utmost, he would bind them to their good behaviour;" bidding them "sell a cow for 5s. and to take enough for themselves." The officers, thus encouraged, took away for that one meeting, goods and cattle to the value of 200l. from six Friends.

In Gloucestershire, John Meredith, a justice of peace, caused twenty-seven to be indicted at Gloucester sessions, for absence from the national worship, though he knew that most of them had deeply suffered before by the act against conventicles. He arbitrarily required of Henry Pontin and Nathaniel Heskins sureties for their good behaviour, when no complaint was made against them, and kept them in prison three months; after which he indicted them at the sessions for meetings, and had them fined 40l. each, and continued them in prison. He beat William Bennet and William Wade unmercifully with his own hands: he took John Selcock by the hair of the head, and plucked him out of the meeting house at Frenchay, into the yard; then drew his knife, and said he would mark him, but was prevented by the interposition of his clerk and others: he drew his knife at George Peace, and probably had done him mischief had not one of his own servants prevented him: he plucked John Bawn out of a meeting by the hair of his head, and after that, finding him in the highway, he fell upon him, and beat him barbarously: he also beat John Fryar and Joseph Glover, two officers, because they would not abuse people as much as he would have them. When Samuel Simmons, being wrongfully fined, appealed to him for justice, he fell furiously upon him, and beat him inhumanly: he also caused the forms and benches of the meeting house to be cut in pieces; and with his staff broke five glass windows to pieces, not leaving one whole quarry.



At Plymouth, on the 5th of the 2d month, (April,) 1677, Andrew Horseman, mayor, with three other justices, and constables attending them, forcibly dispersed the meeting, and fined Richard Samble 20l. for preaching. On the 7th of the same month, the first of the week, the mayor and two other justices took the names of those who were met, haled them into the street, set a guard at the meeting house door to keep them out, detained Richard Samble until evening, and then fined him 40l. for preaching. From that day forward they were kept out of their meeting house, and obliged to meet in the street, until the 29th of September following, when another mayor, William Tomes, entered upon office. The next day they met peaceably in the house; but afterwards this mayor following the example of his predecessor, kept them out, and they assembled in the open street three times in a week, enduring the inclemency of the weather all the winter; abused by the rabble, and sometimes by the officers and soldiers of the garrison; all which, and much more, they endured with unwearied patience for the space of more than twelve months. Warrants also were granted for distraining their goods, by one of which the constables forcibly entered the shop of Robert Cary, and took away from him sugars and strong waters to the value of 24l. all which they sold for 4l. 13s. In many other parts the members of this society were treated with no less severity: but it would be disagreeably tedious to give a detail of every particular.

This year William Dobson, of Brightwell, in Berkshire, died a prisoner for his conscientious testimony against the payment of tithes; upon which account he had been a remarkable sufferer, having been spoiled of his goods from time to time, during the space of thirteen years, and most of the time a prisoner. For tithes of the value of about 4l. 10s. he

he had goods taken from him worth 40*l*. He was imprisoned the succeeding year at Reading, and removed thence to the Fleet in London, where he lay a considerable time; and lastly he was prosecuted in the Exchequer, and committed to prison in September, 1675, and kept there until he died in the third month this year. He had also taken from him by Ralph Whistler, prosecutor, goods worth 156*l*. for five or six years tithes of a farm, the yearly value of which tithe had been formerly estimated at no more than 4*l*.

This year died in Newgate, Richard Ashfield, of Staines, in Middlesex, of whom his widow gave the following account:

"After my dear husband was convinced of the truth, he was often prosecuted, by excommunications and sessions process, for nonconformity; and in obedience to the command of Christ, refusing to take the oaths, was several times imprisoned, on which account he also suffered a year's imprisonment in 1665. In 1676 he was again excommunicated for nonconformity, and refusing to pay church rates (so called). By the vehement instigation of Edward Kempshall, a writ of *capias* was served on him, and he carried to Newgate in the 11th month, 1676, to the great grief of many honest people, who wept when they took leave of him, it being then a cold season, and he aged about sixty-five years, and much troubled with a cough and phthysic; this, to use his own words on his dying bed, "was the occasion of shortening his days." On the 11th of the 10th month, 1677, he laid down his head, and resigned his soul and spirit in perfect peace and joy of the Lord, into the hands of his faithful Creator."

From this time to the end of the King's reign, party heats grew more and more violent.

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## CHAP. II.

FRESH SOLICITATION FOR RELIEF OF FRIENDS.—DISCOVERY OF THE POPISH PLOT.—ACCOUNT OF ISAAC PENNINGTON.—PARLIAMENT DISSOLVED.—&c.

**G**EORGE FOX, after his return from Holland, and visiting the meetings of Friends in various parts of England, came to London during the sitting of the parliament last year, and found his friends there engaged in solicitations to them for relief from prosecutions by the laws made only against popish recusants: upon his arrival, he joined these Friends in their application; but a sudden prorogation put a stop to their proceedings at that time. When the parliament met again, George Fox, William Penn, George Whitehead, and others, renewed their application for exempting their friends from the penalties of these obsolete laws, which were never intended against them; and they conceived some hopes of relief, many of the members manifesting a disposition to relieve them, as being convinced they suffered unjustly.

But the attention of parliament was soon diverted by a discovery of that called the popish plot.

Advantage was taken of the alarm occasioned by the rumour of this plot, to increase the persecution of a people of opposite principles; under the pretext of the necessity, in this season of danger, to exert vigilance in guarding against seditious assemblies. And in order to expose them to the abuse of the undiscerning populace, some members, whose residence, occupations, and manner of life were well known, were imprisoned, under a pretended suspicion of being papists or concealed jesuits.



Roger Longworth, of Bolton, in Lancashire, occasionally travelling into Cheshire, was by two officious justices sent to prison as a suspected papist. After he had been left in prison about two months, he was set at liberty by a private order from Justice Manwaring.

In Lincolnshire, Thomas Robinson, of Brant-Broughton, was fined by Sir Christopher Nevill 40l. for being at a meeting at Beckingham, by whose warrant he had taken from him eighteen sheep, one pair of steers, four draught bullocks, and four fat bullocks; worth 44l. 1s. The four fat bullocks were sold to a butcher, who, hearing on what account they were taken, declined the bargain. Next all the steers and bullocks were driven to Grantham market, but nobody would buy them; again the bullocks were sold for 27l. to one Parker, but when he understood how they were come by, he would not be concerned with them. Then they drove the beasts to Lincoln, but could find no chapman; for the people, esteeming them the spoil of conscience, would not buy them. At length the constable drove them all to Sir Christopher Nevill, by whose warrant they were taken; who, finding no purchaser, and being unwilling to take them himself, restored them to the owner. The chief promoter of this prosecution was John Chapple, priest of Brant-Broughton.

In this year Isaac Pennington, of Chalfont, in Buckinghamshire, a useful and virtuous member of this society, departed this life. He was eldest son of Alderman Pennington of London, a noted member of the long parliament, who was nominated (but never sat) amongst the King's judges. Being heir to a fair inheritance, his education was suited to his expectations in life, having all the advantages which the schools and universities of his own country afforded him; and by his station at that time had the

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additional advantage of improving himself in the conversation of some of the most considerable men of the age.

His father's station in public employments, opened him a fair prospect of worldly greatness; but actuated by higher considerations, he was induced to relinquish the glories of this world, as unworthy to engage the principal attention of man.

Under this view he was led to separate himself from the public worship he had usually frequented, and join a select society; but, he writes, there was something wanting, and that they fell into a mistake; for that whilst they should have pressed forward into the spirit and power of godliness, they ran too much outward into the letter and form; in consequence whereof they became darkened in their minds, and confusion and a dissolution succeeded.

Being now left alone, and connected with no visible society, in a state of darkness and uncertainty, at last he met with some of the writings of the people called Quakers, which he cast a slight eye over, and threw aside, as falling very short of that wisdom with which, he apprehended, the living faith he was searching after would be attended.

After a considerable time of solitude, being invited to a meeting at John Crook's, in Bedfordshire, he went with a fixed disposition and desire of heart to receive nothing as truth, which was not of God, nor withstand any thing which was. George Fox was at that meeting, who spoke so clearly to his state, and with such energy, as gained his full assent; and from that time forward he joined the society, in which he soon became a very eminent and serviceable member; though for a season he underwent great spiritual conflict, and much outward opposition and reproach, from his father and his relations.

In this age, when virtue without conformity was treated as a crime, neither his rank in life, the benevolence of his disposition, the integrity of his heart, the inculpable innocence of his demeanour, nor the universal esteem of his character, had sufficient merit with those in whose hands the power was lodged, to exempt him from the sufferings attendant upon the profession he made. His imprisonments were many, and some of them long and severe, which he bore with great firmness and serenity, being supported by the testimony of an approving heart, and the consciousness of suffering in a good cause. His conduct and conversation were a seal to his ministry, by which many were converted to the truth he had received, and many confirmed in it.

He was several times imprisoned for being at meetings for worship, and by the hard usage he met with, his tender body contracted a distemper, so violent, that for several weeks after he was not able to turn in his bed.

He was once imprisoned, with sundry other Friends, on the following occasion: a Friend of Amersham being to be buried, several Friends and others of the neighbourhood assembled, as usual, to attend the funeral. It happened that one Ambrose Bennet, a justice of peace, accidentally riding through the town, and hearing of this funeral, alighted, and staid until the corpse was carrying to the grave, with the company attending it in a peaceable and solid manner, becoming the occasion. Upon which he rushed out of the inn, attended by some constables and rude people, whom he had gathered about him, and having his sword drawn in his hand, struck one of the foremost of the bearers with it, commanding them to set down the coffin; but they not being forward to comply with an order, for which he had no legal authority, as they were



in no unlawful act, he violently pushed it off their shoulders into the street, and there left it until the evening, when it was forcibly taken from the widow, and buried in the unconsecrated part of the churchyard, as it is termed.

Immediately after he had thrown down the coffin, he ordered the constables and rabble to apprehend ten of the company, (Isaac Pennington being one). Then sending for another justice, they committed them to Aylesbury jail, though the justices or prisoners could hardly tell for what.

Here they were detained until the assizes, during which they were brought before Judge Morton, who treated them with rude and reviling language; but referred their case to the justices who had committed them, who sent them again to prison for one month, on the act of banishment.

He had scarce enjoyed his liberty more than a month, when a rude soldier, without any other warrant than what he carried in his scabbard, took him out of his own house before Sir Philip Palmer, one of the deputy lieutenants of the county, who sent him with a guard of soldiers to Aylesbury jail, with a mittimus, importing that "the jailer should receive and keep him in safe custody during the *pleasure of the Earl of Bridgewater*." This Earl of Bridgewater had very causelessly imbibed a particular antipathy to this inoffensive man, to that degree, that although it was the year of the plague, which had reached that town, and the jail was supposed to be infected, he could not be prevailed upon, by the intercession of a person of considerable rank and authority in the county, to permit him to remove to another house in the town, until the jail was free from infection. Afterwards a prisoner dying in the jail of the plague, the jailer's wife, in the absence of her husband, gave him liberty to remove into another house. At last, by the interposition of the Earl

Earl of Ancram, he was discharged, after suffering an imprisonment of three quarters of a year.

But before the end of a month, another party of soldiers from the said Philip Palmer, as reported, by order of the Earl of Bridgewater, went to his house, seized him in bed, and carried him to the same jail again, where he was imprisoned in rooms so damp and unhealthy as greatly endangered his life. During his long confinement he was never called for at the sessions or assize, but by some illegal means returned on the calendar to remain in prison. At length being removed by Habeas Corpus to the King's Bench bar, when he appeared there, and no cause of his imprisonment appearing, the court released him in 1668, with plain indications of surprise, that a man should be imprisoned so long for nothing.

Going to Reading in 1670, to visit his friends in prison there, and report of his visit being made to Sir William Armourer, he caused him to be committed to prison, in company with his friends, whom he went to visit.

Here he continued a prisoner a year and three quarters, being condemned in a sentence of premunire, under which he lay, it is probable, until released by letters patent in the year 1672.

Being through divine assistance preserved steadfast through all his trials; and in the faithful discharge of a good conscience in the sight of God, by a life of virtue, he was well prepared for his dissolution, which happened on the 8th of the 8th month, 1679, in the sixty-third year of his age, at Goodnestone Court, in Kent, being a farm belonging to his wife, where he was taken ill of a painful distemper: but the anguish of his bodily pain gave no shock to his internal peace; he died, as he lived, in the faith that overcomes the world. His body was conveyed to London, and from thence to his house

Buckinghamshire: from whence his funeral was attended by a great number of his friends and neighbours, whose affectionate esteem he had generally engaged.

## SCOTLAND.

**PRIESTS OF ABERDEEN ENDEAVOUR TO STIR UP PERSECUTION.—THE KING'S DECLARATION OF INDULGENCE STOPS THEIR PROCEEDINGS.—ADVANTAGE TAKEN OF AN ORDER OF COUNCIL, TO IMPRISON FRIENDS.—THE PRISONERS CALLED.—SEVERAL FINED ONE QUARTER OF THEIR VALUED ESTATES.—OTHERS IN DIFFERENT SUMS OF MONEY.**

THE priests of Aberdeen, whose repeated attempts to stir up the magistrates to persecute the Quakers, had been, by the moderation of the latter, mostly frustrated, continued their virulent endeavours to excite the civil power to proceed against them with rigour; but had still the mortification to meet with a disappointment of their wishes. For upon the coming of the judges to Aberdeen, in their circuit, the priest Meldrum, in his sermon before them, at the opening of the court, represented them, in his usual manner, "as a most dangerous and pernicious sect." Not satisfied with this, he, in company with his colleague, John Menzies, waited upon the judges at their chambers, where they met with the bishop; to them they complained that the magistrates of Aberdeen had several times broken up the Quakers meetings, had imprisoned, fined, and even banished some of them; and yet were not able to suppress them. Upon which the judges asking, "What they would have them do farther?" Menzies made a proposal so cruel, that the bishop was ashamed, and the judges would return no answer; seeing that the designs of the priests were malicious.

When



When Alexander Skein and John Messer left the communion of their church, the four priests of Aberdeen solicited the bishop to convene a sub-synod: they met shortly after, and drew up an address to the King's council, petitioning them "to take some effectual course to curb and rid the land of the Quakers, who were increasing among them." The council only referred them to a former act of parliament, which ordained, that "all, who withdrew from their parish church, be admonished by the preachers before two sufficient witnesses, and then, after three first days absence, they be fined one eighth of their valued rents." George Meldrum and David Lyall therefore immediately set about their part of bringing this act into force against this people, and were busily engaged in performing their monitory office from house to house, when the "King's declaration of indulgence to all Nonconformists," in 1672, reached Aberdeen, and put a stop to their proceedings at that time.

This declaration of indulgence came very seasonably to prevent the execution of an act of council, which the priests had prevailed upon the magistrates of Aberdeen to pass, by which they had resolved, "that no Quaker should be made a burghers or freeman of that city;" and that "whoever received a Quaker into his house without leave of the magistrate, should be fined 5s. And that if any person should let a house for Quakers, either to meet or dwell in, he should be fined five hundred Scottish marks."

About the same time the Quakers in this kingdom received relief from suffering, in a case wherein their brethren in other parts were greatly exposed, it having been the settled custom in that nation, in suing for a debt, where proof failed, to put the defendant to clear himself upon oath: this custom exposed the Quakers, who could not swear in any case,

to be made a prey, by ill designing persons prosecuting them frequently for unjust claims. The judges, perceiving the advantage this scruple gave their antagonists in such suits, humanely determined that a simple declaration of the truth should be accepted from that people in such causes.

The priests of Aberdeen, disappointed in their endeavours against the living, vented their indignation against the dead. By their influence on the magistrates, they procured the demolishing of the walls of a burying ground, which the Quakers had purchased, and wherein a child had been buried a few days before. The body, by order of the provost and bailiffs, was taken out of the ground, carried to a village called Futtie, and interred there. But an idle rumour being raised, as if the Quakers had imposed upon the magistrates, by taking out the child's body, and filling the coffin with something else, they ordered the coffin to be broken open. They continued this practice of removing every body that was interred, until a representation being made to the King's council, a private check was given thereto; by which a stop was put to this inhumanity, and the dead bodies suffered to lie undisturbed.

Notwithstanding all the endeavours of the priests to suppress the growth of this society, and to excite the civil power to rigorous measures against them, the beginning of this year, (1673,) Andrew Jaffray, and several others of Aberdeen, and parts adjacent, being convinced of this people's principles, joined their society. This incited the priests to renew their attempts to subject them to persecution; by their instigations the provost and other magistrates came to the meeting on the 6th of the 3d month, and took the names of all then present, sending a list thereof, by William Gordon, to the King's council. He executed his commission with the utmost assiduity.

affiduity. But shortly after, going from Aberdeen to Leith, to hear a sermon, in the time whereof he was necessitated to go out, and at the end thereof was found dead.

Upon the solicitations of William Gordon, the council sent a summons to nineteen of the said people to appear before them, and fined them; the several fines being assigned to one Hugh Nelson, an apothecary in Edinburgh, while he was busy in a process at law for the recovery thereof, a proclamation was issued by the King, remitting all penalties or fines for nonconformity, except such as were already paid or secured.

Notwithstanding which, the magistrates continued their application to the council; and the priests strenuously solicited Archbishop Sharp's patronage; alledging that "the Quakers schism was prejudicial to the interest of the church, and that by using a separate burying place they prevented the payment of the fees customary on these occasions." But this complaint, when laid before the council, was effectually obviated by the representation of the said people, concerning the inhuman practice of their adversaries, in taking the dead bodies out of their graves, as before related. The council, upon hearing both sides, did not think proper to interpose their authority in this case.

This year died Alexander Jaffray, of Kingswell, who was born in the city of Aberdeen, where he became, in process of time, a citizen of the first rank; served the office of chief magistrate, and was one of the commissioners deputed to treat with Charles II. at Breda, in Holland, in 1650.

Early in life he dissented from the religion of his education, and joined in fellowship with the Presbyterians. But observing the difference of their conduct, when they had wrested the government into their own hands, from what it appeared to him when



when he first joined with them, he left them, and went over to the Independents; but their eager grasping at power gave him such disgust, that he left them also; and detached himself for some years from any religious society; until he heard of a people newly raised up in England: and after deliberate inquiry concerning the tenets and manner of life of this people, he felt his heart much possessed with sentiments in their favour.

In this disposition of mind he heard William Dewsbury, by means of whose ministry and conversation, being more fully satisfied that the practice of this people corresponded with their profession, as their principles did with truth, he joined them in society.

The rank he had before held in their city, and in their estimation, did not exempt him from his share in the sufferings to which this people were exposed; but he stood faithful to his testimony to the last, and valiantly contended for the truth he professed, in fundry conferences with the bishop of Aberdeen, and the preachers of that city.

He was taken sick the latter end of the 4th month, 1673, and during his sickness expressed "his joy and comfort in that trying season, that he had been counted worthy to bear testimony to, and suffer for the precious testimony of Christ's inward appearance, by his light, grace, and good spirit, which convinceth of sin; and that it was, and would be, the condemnation of many, particularly of the professors, that they had slighted, despised, and hated the light, and the witnesses thereunto."

He also left this prediction among his friends, that a winnowing and trying time was coming among them, whereby hypocrites should be discovered and made manifest, but that a faithful remnant should be preserved, and brought through the fiery trial. This was judged to be plainly verified in

in the sufferings, which, within three years, happened to the said people at Aberdeen. He signified that the sting of death was taken away; being, through his mercy who loved him, made easy to him, as a desirable passage to a better state. A little before his departure, his expressions, and the comfortable frame of his mind, expressive of his lively hope, under the feeling of divine goodness, owning and supporting him in his last moments, greatly affected those who were present, and soon, by a very easy passage, he was removed out of this life, and laid down his head in full assurance of a glorious immortality.

On the 14th of the 2d month, 1675, a public dispute was held at Aberdeen, between Robert Barclay and George Keith on one part, and some students of divinity on the other; the occasion whereof was this: Robert Barclay, in order to rescue the society, of which he was become a member, from the odium under which they lay, through misrepresentations of their principles from the pulpits, as erroneous and heretical, published his Theses, which were the groundwork of his apology, giving a brief and plain account of the principles of the said people, that the public might have a fair opportunity of considering those principles candidly in themselves, and not under the veil of misrepresentation; at the end of which he made a proposal, offering to defend these principles in those places, where they had been so misrepresented, and against those persons who had so often traduced them. But none of the public preachers choosing to accept the proposal, this method seems to have been pitched upon, to select some from among the students, to take up the cause, as of themselves, that if the Quakers should have the advantage, the consequence would be immaterial, in a contest with young men. The Quakers were under no obligation to join issue with these youths,

youths, as it was not to them, but to the public preachers, who propagated the misrepresentations, the proposal was made. But as they were not afraid of meeting the ablest of their preachers, for the truth, they thought, led them not to despise any, who might be inclined to treat with them on the reason of their hope, with the sobriety becoming the seriousness of the subject. The dispute was accordingly held; but terminated, as such disputes generally do, in tumult and disorder; the students handling serious subjects with unbecoming levity, and vainly triumphing in a victory they had not obtained: but having numbers on their side, used clamour and personal abuse, by wounding them with elods and stones; and finished the debate for that time. But the result proved on which side the advantage lay; for four of the students present, but not disputants, were at that time so fully convinced of the reasonableness of the Quakers principles, that they joined them in society.

The Friends engaged, looking upon themselves to have been unhandsomely treated in the dispute they held with the students of Aberdeen, and also in the reports thereof, published an account of it. The students thought it necessary, for their reputation, to publish an answer; of which they could find no printer who would undertake the publication at his own risk; whereby they were obliged to let their performance lie dormant, or print it at their own expence. Having with some difficulty raised the money, in hopes of being reimbursed by the sale of the book, they had the mortification to find almost the whole impression left on their hands for want of purchasers. In this dilemma they presented a petition to the commissioners, representing their loss, and requesting some relief out of the Exchequer; which request, through the archbishop's influence, they obtained; so that the commissioners

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ssued an order upon Captain Melvil to pay them a  
part of the Quakers fines in his hand, upon which  
he gave them David Barclay's oxen, which were  
old to raise the money they wanted.

The council at Edinburgh having issued a decla-  
ration, reinforcing former acts of parliament against  
conventicles, and recommending the execution to  
the sheriffs and magistrates of corporations, though  
the proclamation was expressly relative to such as  
were outlawed by the council; yet the priests and  
rulers of Aberdeen made a handle thereof to oppress  
the Quakers, whom they well knew to be none of  
the persons intended therein\*. So rash and preci-  
pitate was their malice, that as soon as they had in-  
formation of the council's declaration, they had not  
patience to wait for the regular notification thereof;  
but before it came into their hands, or was proclaim-  
ed at Aberdeen, they took from the meeting there,  
on the 12th of the month called March, twelve of  
the members, and committed them to the new Tol-  
booth; and continued the like practice for two  
months, by which time they had increased the num-  
ber of prisoners to thirty-four.

After some time the prisoners received a sum-  
mons to appear before the Earl of Arrol, the Earl  
Marshall, and Sir John Keith, three of the privy  
council appointed commissioners to put in execu-  
tion the acts of parliament made against the keeping  
of conventicles, before whom being called, a long li-  
st was exhibited against them, reciting the heads  
of the acts of the parliament, convened the 18th of  
June, 1670, against conventicles, and withdrawing

Ruinous fines were imposed both on the preachers and  
hearers in meetings held in houses; but field conventicles were  
subjected to the penalty of death and confiscation of goods. It  
was to be observed by these conventicles were principally meant  
covenanters, and that the Quakers (who were an inconsider-  
able number) did not esteem themselves included. *Hume.*

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from the public worship. The libel being read, was to be enforced by Patrick Hay, (the only lawyer who could be procured to plead against them,) but his oratory failing him, his plea was confined to this brief query, "Who gave you leave to preach?"

The witnesses produced against the prisoners, were some students of Aberdeen, and the magistrates who took them into custody. Against both these David Barclay objected, as insufficient evidence; the former as parties in the crime, and as having manifested themselves to be prejudiced persons by a late publication, wherein they had maliciously and unjustly accused them of blasphemy and treason; and the latter as being those who put the law in execution, and therefore ought not to be accusers in the same cause. The commissioners, however, overruled these objections, and accepted the evidence.

The prisoners in consequence exhibited their defence in writing to the court; signifying that they apprehended themselves not to be comprehended in the acts recited in the libel, as not falling under the description of those intended by the act; the reason assigned for which being to prevent sedition and rebellion, and for that part which prohibits field conventicles, because they are termed a rendezvous of rebellion, did not comprehend them, who are a peaceable people in principle and practice; that they were well informed, that when the act was framing, inquiry was made "whether the Quakers were to be comprehended in the act?" and that the Duke of Lauderdale said, "it was only to curb the Presbyterians in the west. That the King's council did never execute any of the said acts against Friends in that city; nor in any place in the south and west of Scotland, where there were meetings of Friends in several places, which had been held unmolested

ever

ever since the acts were made. That though several Friends were apprehended and imprisoned upon the issuing of the late proclamation, yet they were set at liberty a few days after, upon surety to appear when called for, and have ever since kept their meetings, in Edinburgh particularly, without being called in question by the council; that they presumed therefore they would meet with no other measure at Aberdeen. That the magistrates had kept them nearly three months in prison, without authority from any act of parliament cited or proclaimed, of which illegal restraint they hope the King's counselors will take notice, and prevent the like for the future. That their meetings have no tendency to sedition, rebellion, or violence; but are held merely out of duty to God, who had forbidden them "to forsake the assembling themselves together." It was from conscientious persuasion alone that they durst not forsake their meetings, and not out of any contempt of authority."

After the court had deliberated for some time, the prisoners, who had been ordered to withdraw, were called, and severally asked, "whether they would oblige themselves not to go any more to meetings," which every one of them refusing to do, they were again ordered to withdraw, and when called again, the sentence of the court was read to them, whereby David Barclay, Alexander Gellie, Robert Burnet, Alexander Harper, Alexander Skein, Andrew Jaffray, and Alexander Forbes, were fined each in one-fourth of their respective valued rents, for their own keeping conventicles, and an eighth part of their said valued rents each, for withdrawing from the public worship. Also the said Andrew Jaffray, Alexander Skein, and Alexander Harper, to pay an eighth part of their wives' transgressions, conformable to the tenour of the act of parliament. And the following, not being landed persons, were fined



fined in the following sums: Andrew Galloway, Thomas Mills, and George Keith 30l. each; William Sparke 40l. James Forbes 25l. and the rest twenty marks a-piece. And over and above, John Skein and George Keith, because they were found to have preached and prayed at these meetings, were to find caution, under pain of five thousand marks, not to do the like hereafter, or enact themselves to move out of the kingdom, conform to the tenour of the act. And all to remain in prison, until they make payment of their respective fines.

The sentence being read, the prisoners were remanded to prison, where their number was increased by the repeated imprisonment of other Friends, from their religious meetings. While they were kept under close confinement, some of them were concerned at times to preach to the people, who would come up to the windows of the prison to hear them; but the magistrates of Aberdeen, to prevent this, caused the windows to be nailed up for a whole week together, and removed several of them into the higher prison.

## SUNDRY PERSECUTIONS.

ROBERT BARCLAY APPLIES TO THE KING FOR RELIEF.—  
THE TREATMENT OF FRIENDS AT BAMF MORE LIBERAL  
AND HUMANE.

DURING this time, Robert Barclay being in London (1676), and gaining admittance to the King, delivered him a narrative of these proceedings, and of the severity of the magistrates of this city, to his imprisoned friends, interceding with him to recommend their case to the notice of the council of Scotland; which narrative the King ordered the Earl of Lauderdale to recommend to their consideration.

## PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS.

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ation. The council at Edinburgh referred  
their former commissioners, in conjunction  
three others ; but the Earl of Arrol, who was  
sident, resolved their deliberations into this  
inquiry of the prisoners, "Whether they were  
better advised, than when they were last  
them, and would give bonds not to hold any  
meetings?" In reply thereto, after pointing out the  
hardship of their imprisonment for seven months  
when no seditious act could be proved against them,  
nor any other cause assigned, than meeting in a  
peaceable manner to worship, they intimated, that  
"they durst not be so unfaithful to God, as to give  
any bond, whereby they should bind themselves not  
to worship him. In the conclusion the Earl of  
Arrol repeating, "it seems then you will not give  
bond," John Skein answered, "let never that day  
dawn in which we shall be so unfaithful to the Lord :  
but if any should prove so, let neither the King,  
nor his council, trust that man, for he that is not  
faithful to the Lord, will never be faithful to his  
King or country."

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MORE LIBERAL

The commissioners decreed that they should pay  
their respective fines to one Captain George Melvil,  
and that upon paying they should be set at liberty ;  
and that in default of payment in the limited time,  
the said Melvil was empowered to detain them for  
the same, and that when the fines were levied, the  
prisoners should be released. The Earl of Arrol,  
departing out of town the next morning, all those  
who had been imprisoned since the rest were fined,  
were released by the remaining commissioners.

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Melvil soon after applied himself to the execution  
of his commission, and from some took goods or  
cattle to double, and from others to treble the value  
of their respective fines. Coming to John Skein's  
shop, under pretence that there were not goods suf-  
ficient, though three times the value of his fine, he  
went

## HISTORY OF THE

to his dwelling house, where entrance being refused him, he applied to the provost for a warrant to break open his doors, and next day came with smiths and hammers to break them open; but James Skein went to the magistrates, and made a legal protest against this proceeding; and that, if the doors were broken open, they must expect to be accountable for the damage. Whereupon they desired Melvil to desist, and seize on the shop goods; which he did to the amount of 130l. by their own valuation; all which were carried away to his house. But his career was now stopped for a season, being obliged to secrete himself from the messenger and sergeants, who were in quest of him for a just debt; so that he durst not appear till that demand was compromised.

When he had got this effected, he returned to the prosecution of his commission in the like unreasonable manner, and re-entered John Skein's shop, on pretence of the former seizure being defective, and took away more goods; taking in the whole 230l. for a fine of 100l.

In restraining David Barclay he exceeded his commission, the said David living in the shire of Merns, which was out of the precinct of the commissioner's authority, under whose warrant he acted, of which David was not wanting timely to apprize him. He proceeded notwithstanding to execute his purpose by adding one illegal act to another. He took away ten labouring oxen, in the plowing season (which was by act of parliament prohibited, even in case of a just debt) with other cattle and corn. But these cattle proved a troublesome acquisition, for he could find no man that would buy them, and the expence of keeping them was a continual burden to him; so that he seems to have been tired of them, before he could get them disposed of at any



rate; until they were sold for the purposes before mentioned.

The magistrates of Aberdeen seem for some time to have been effectually brought over by the priests, to exert their power in persecuting this society.— But George Skein, the provost of the present year, even exceeded his predecessors in malice and cruelty to this people; almost immediately upon his entering into office he caused the prisoners to be more strictly kept, debarring them the liberty of going into the lower council house, a privilege which they had at times been permitted to enjoy, and threatened some of the officers with the loss of their places, for not acting up to the rigour of his orders. And now observing that the loss of their substance did not deter the members of this society from returning to their meetings, he not only continued to send them again to prison, but to render their imprisonment as severe as he possibly could; for which purpose he would frequently remove them from one room to another, just to perplex them with the trouble of removing their bedding, &c. His evil disposition prompting him to be still more vexatious to them, he made a proposition for petitioning the commissioners to give orders for the close shutting up of all the prisoners in the higher part of the jail, but he could not obtain the concurrence of the other magistrates.

During these transactions, Patrick Livingstone and James Halliday, from England, in the course of a religious visit to their brethren in this nation, coming to Aberdeen, were apprehended, and imprisoned in the upper prison, where they had frequent opportunities, especially on market days, to publish their doctrine out of the prison windows, and had more hearers, than probably they would have had in their own meeting places; so that even their

their confinement, designed to prevent it, tended to promote the testimony they had to bear.

Alexander Burnet, one of the bailiffs of Aberdeen being deputed to attend at a meeting of the commissioners, seized the opportunity to apply his utmost efforts to incense them against the Quakers and to prevail with them to take some measures to prevent their preaching to the people out of the windows of the prison. The commissioners gave the said bailiff an order to remove Patrick Livingstone, George Keith, Robert Barclay, John Skein and Andrew Jaffray out of the prison they were in, to another part of the town, called the Chapel, where the commissary courts used to sit, and where the prisoners might have better accommodation. This order was in nowise agreeable to the views of the provost and bailiff, whose aim was not to alleviate, but aggravate their punishment: therefore, although their order was issued in consequence of their solicitation, they were not very forward to execute it: instead thereof they set workmen to nail up the windows of the upper prison, and stop up the very chinks that were made to let in light to the stairs. Afterwards when in compliance with the commissioners order, some of the prisoners were removed to the Chapel, which was intended for their better accommodation, these indisposed magistrates contrived to make it as distressing as in their power, by putting them into a cold dark room, where there was little more than space for their beds; they applied for room to lay up a little firing, and although it might have been well spared them, the provost refused their request. They requested a window to give them light, which was not complied with.

The case of those confined in the higher prison or the Talbooth was yet more grievous: they were obliged to lay their beds one above another on boards. The unwholesome closeness of the prison, and the  
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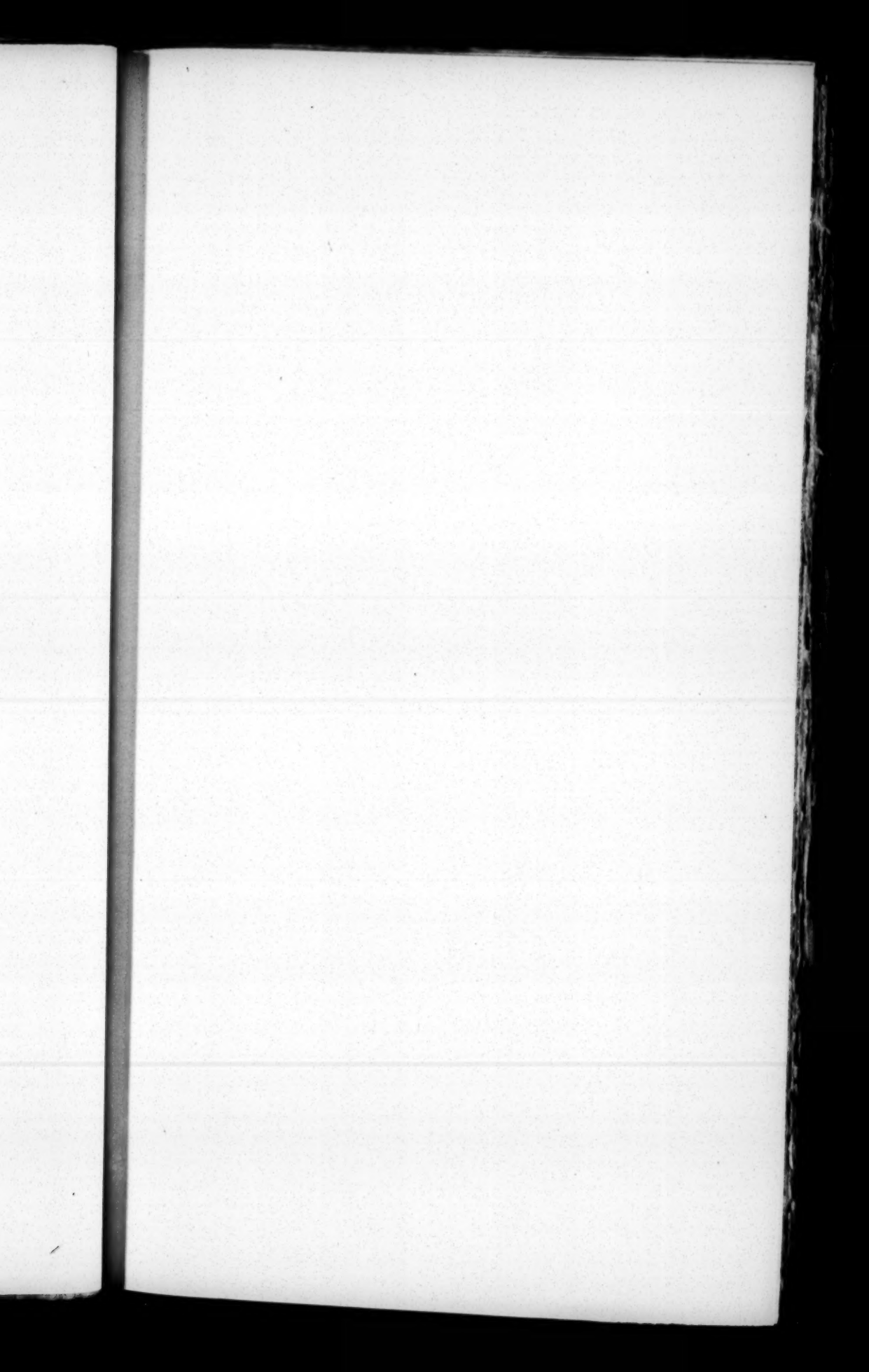
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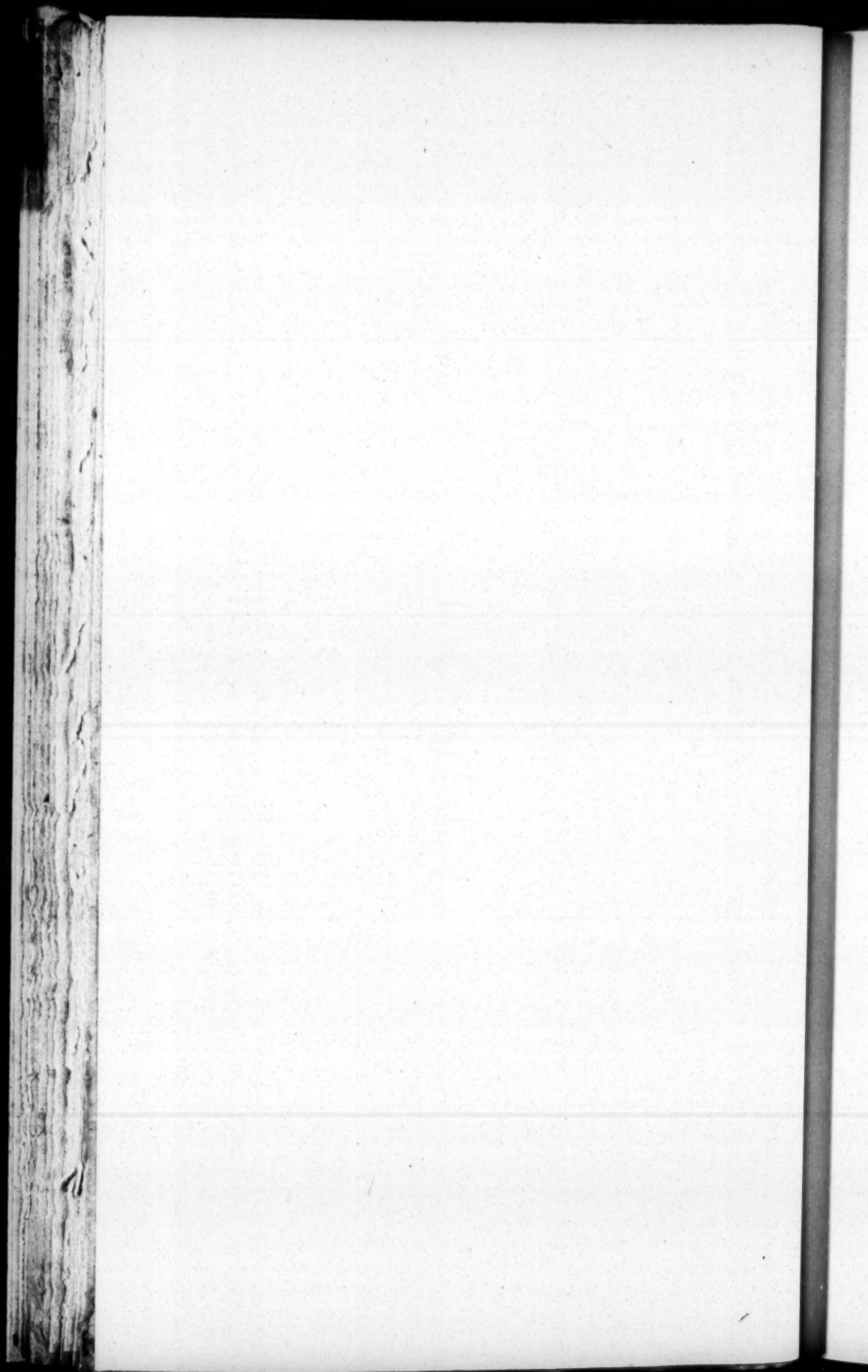
















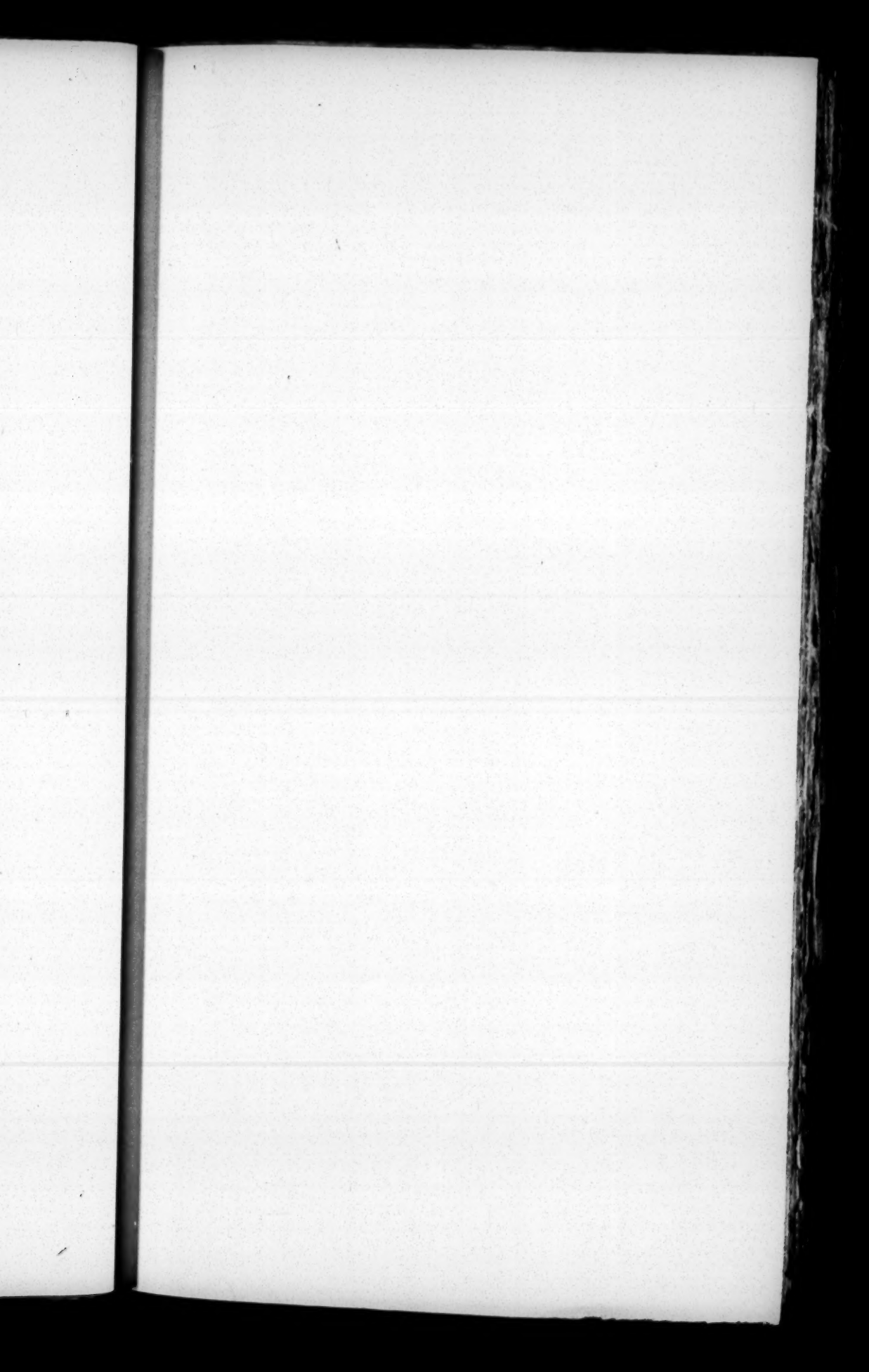














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At Temple Street he confined the men and dispersed the women, driving them as if he had been driving cattle.

Besides the plunder and abuse to which they were subject, several of them from time to time had been committed prisoners to Newgate, where they were greatly incommoded, and their health endangered for want of room; wherefore they represented their case in a petition or complaint addressed to Sir Thomas Earle, mayor, and the rest of the justices, wherein they complain of being so straitened, as to have nine beds in one room, and seven in another, of thirteen feet square; that though an order of sessions had been made for enlarging the prison, it had not been complied with, and requesting, for the preservation of their health and their lives, that they would see their order obeyed.

The generality of the magistrates and citizens declared their dissatisfaction at the state of the jail, esteeming it of dangerous consequence to the lives of the King's subjects, and required the late order of sessions to be put into execution; and Richard Lane, one of the sheriffs, declared his willingness to yield obedience: but it was refused and frustrated by Sheriff Knight, who seemed singly invested with power to control the resolutions of the whole body of the magistrates.

The mayor, not without reason, being piqued at this overbearing insolence of an inferior magistrate, declared his resolution that all convictions should be public, and not made in taverns and alehouses. He entered his protest against such convictions, and against the jail, as absolutely unfit for prisoners. He afterwards demanded an account of the convictions made to that time, which Knight refused: wherefore the mayor caused a record to be made of such demand and refusal. The mayor further declared that he would have no more private convictions;

tions; and that the goods distrained should be deposited in a public warehouse; that he would have an account of the sale of them, that they might be sold to their full value, and justly accounted for. To be checked in the exorbitance of plunder, and tied down to any degree of justice, was so highly displeasing to Knight and his band of informers, that they threatened the mayor with the weight of their opposition to his interest at the next election.

Instead of complying with the reasonable requests of the prisoners, and the order of the sessions, these persecutors persisted in incommoding them still worse, by a continual crowding the jails with fresh prisoners. The next opportunity after their dispute with the mayor, as if to shew their contempt of all authority, but that whereby they were supported, they sent forty-three more to Bridewell and forty to Newgate.

A certificate of their treatment here was published by some of the citizens, (not Quakers,) who, on hearing of their inhuman usage, accompanied Sheriff Lane to view the prison, wherein they declare it altogether unfit for the number of prisoners crowded therein, eighty-five whereof were Quakers, who were unreasonably thronged to four, five, six, seven, and nine beds in a room, many necessitated to lie on the ground, in a filthy place, which had been a dog kennel, to the hazard of their lives; which, as the heat increased, might breed infectious distempers to the endangering of the health and lives of the citizens at large. But remonstrances from every quarter were ineffectual.

When endeavours at home were too feeble to give a check to their cruelty, two Friends, Laurence Steel and Charles Jones, junior, took a journey to London to seek relief from the King and council, the only body that were powerful enough to check the enormities of these persecutors. They

were

were assisted in their solicitations to government by George Whitehead. Previous application was made to Prince Rupert, and the lord president, who procured them an opportunity to lay their complaint before the King and council. Several of the council being averse to the Nonconformists, rather discouraged and opposed their solicitations; yet their pleading of the cause of the sufferers, and clear exhibition of the injustice of the proceedings against them, made that impression on the King and the generality of the council, that an order was issued to the magistrates of Bristol to allow the prisoners better accommodations, whereupon some of them were removed out of Newgate to another prison, until they were released.

Notwithstanding this order, their persecutors were in no wise discouraged from harassing them by all manner of abuse. Helliard and Tilley tore Mary Hooper's clothes, and pushed her about to that degree, that she was ill some time after. Mary Page, wife of Francis Page, was violently pulled out of the meeting, to the danger of her life, she being then far advanced in her pregnancy. Having driven them out of the meeting, they encouraged the attendant rabble of boys to follow them in their abuse, by pelting them along with dirt. Thomas Lofty, an ancient man, not going out of the meeting as soon as they bade him, Helliard delivered him to the boys to carry to Bridewell; they grievously abused him, throwing him down several times in the dirt.

Three of the prisoners being dangerously ill, could not obtain the favour to go home a little for the preservation of their lives or recovery of their health. When one of their wives was brought to bed, her husband requested liberty of the keeper to go but for an hour or two to see her, but his request would not be granted. They could get no sight of the informations against them, though they employ-



ed lawyers for that purpose; for the records were not in court, but in the custody of Knight, Helliard, or their agents; and it was with the utmost difficulty they could procure copies of the warrants by which the distresses were made.

The repeated complaints of the noisomeness of their prison, gave occasion to several physicians to examine the state thereof, who certified that the jail was so full and noisome, and the prisoners so straitened for room to rest, as had a tendency to breed infectious distempers, and to endanger the lives not only of the prisoners, but of the inhabitants of the city: but the certificate of the physicians was equally disregarded as the former representations of the citizens had been.

As the constancy of this people in the duty of assembling to worship, while at liberty, was invincible, so they continued the practice of this duty in their imprisonment, meeting and sitting down together in reverence and fear. Being so assembled on the 30th of the month called March, Sheriff Knight, John Helliard, Edmund Brand, and the jailer, fell furiously upon them, and thrust them by violence out of the room, the sheriff protesting, unless they departed, he would put them in irons. He commanded Roger Holland to be ironed, and put down into the West-house, the place where condemned felons are usually put. At another time, being assembled in the common hall, and one of them (Allen Hallmark) speaking a few words, the sheriff threw him headlong down stairs, to the hazard of his life, after which he was put into the West-house, and continued there several days.

Friends were not only thus exposed to personal abuse and imprisonment, but this body of informers had an eye to the emoluments of office, as well as the gratification of their malice. From ten of this people, fined 79l. 3s. 4d. they took goods to the value

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ue of 155l. 14s. 6d. and again for about 79l. they took money and goods worth 153l. and upwards. Of their conduct in this respect we have the following account in a letter from some of the sufferers. "They got into Richard Marsh's house and made sad havoc. They took goods from others of our friends, of which we have no account yet, nor is this account full, as we may have occasion to mention more of the kind, as they are like to repeat their depredations, having warrants for 400l. The quarter sessions are to be next third day, the bishop is come, and all things seem ready for our ruin. But our hope is in the Lord, and we commend our cause to him alone. These distresses are taken for a meeting whereat was no preaching or praying that they pretend to, or we can call to mind."

The quarter sessions being held in course, several of them were indicted, found guilty, and fined; but the justices, who were not insensible of their wrongs, nor approved the proceedings against them, inclining to the favourable side, discharged the greatest part, on promise of appearing at the next sessions; and by their lenity the majority of the prisoners regained their liberty: but they did not enjoy it long; for Knight and Helliars immediately returning to disturb their meetings; within two weeks after their release, they committed several of them again to Newgate from their morning meeting, and then nailed up the doors upon the rest, being fourteen men, and eighty-seven women, and kept them there six hours without refreshment.

They continued to procure their imprisonment, until most or all the men were in confinement; and then, because the women kept up the meeting, they proceeded to imprison them also; so that at length the number of prisoners being about one hundred and sixty, there remained few but children to keep up the meeting.

These children, after the example of their parents, kept up their meetings regularly. Yet even the state of minority could not rescue them from the furious assaults of these informers; they put some of them in the stocks at one time three quarters of an hour, at another time two hours and a half; they were unmercifully beaten with twisted whalebone flicks. Helliard sent eleven boys and four girls to Bridewell; next day they were brought before the deputy mayor; they were cajoled and threatened to make them forbear their meetings; but the children in that respect were immovable: wherefore they were sent back to Bridewell; Helliard, to terrify them, charging the keeper to procure a new cart of nine tails against next morning. Next day he urged the justices to have them corrected, but could not prevail. So many were at length imprisoned that there was no more room in the jails. By these cruel proceedings many families were also ruined in their circumstances. Their goods were continually taken away for attending meetings; and to those who were thought to be men of estates, the oath of allegiance was tendered, in order to bring them under the sentence of premunire, and take away all at once.

This year John Whitehead, an eminent Friend in the ministry, of the East riding of Yorkshire, was committed prisoner to Lincoln Castle, by justice Burrell, being accused as a Jesuit, for preaching at a meeting, and tried at the ensuing assizes at Lincoln, before Baron Street; but as that accusation could not be made good, the customary snare was resorted to, of tendering the oath of allegiance; for the refusal of which, he was indicted, and though he pleaded ably against the illegality of trying him for one crime, and then indicting him for another, he was convicted and premunired, and in consequence

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cast into prison, where it is supposed he was detained until the general release in 1686.

The persecution thus carried on with all the rigour of a violent party spirit, had in a great measure deterred other protestant dissenters from keeping up their meetings; and though many of their ministers had betrayed an invidious disposition towards the Quakers, yet in their nocturnal meetings they would pray, "that it might please God to keep the Quakers steadfast, that so they might be as a wall about them, in order that other dissenters might not be rooted out." And their steadfastness in suffering was such, that some of their persecutors began to despair of subduing them to their wills, being heard to say, "that the Quakers could not be overcome, and that the devil himself could not extirpate them." Several of their teachers, and particularly George Fox, were much engaged by their exhortations and epistles to encourage them to perseverance; and what was remarkable, many of those, who travelled about at this time in the work of the ministry, escaped the pursuit of the informers, and accomplished their services without molestation.

Although I have been particular in the narration of the persecution of Friends in Bristol, yet persecution was not peculiar to that city, but in most parts was carried on with great animosity. At Flamstead, in Hertfordshire, the justices and constables broke the forms, galleries, windows, and doors of the meeting house; and after the door was repaired, they broke it again and burned it, whereby they set fire to the chimney piece, to the terror of the neighbourhood; and one of the justices was heard to declare, "that if he could be sure it would burn nothing but the meeting house, it should not be extinguished." At Broughton, in Leicestershire, endeavours were used by personal abuse and barbarous cruelty to dissolve the meeting there. The prin-



principal promoters of these abuses were William Cotton, priest of the parish, and the parish officers, who encouraged certain rude fellows to insult the persons assembled. Of these, two women, Elizabeth Hill and Elizabeth Hilton, were so grossly abused, that the former was left for dead, and the latter so hurt, that she lay near three weeks, before she recovered strength to go home, (about two miles). When they were abusing Elizabeth Hill, and dragging her through the dirt, some of the neighbours asking them, "if they meant to kill the woman?" they answered, "What care we? Mr. Cotton bade us." As she seemed expiring, one of them said, "Let us see if her teeth be set;" another, putting his finger into her mouth, and perceiving her breathe, said, "Let us at her again, the devil is in her yet, and we will squeeze him out." One of these youths, gathering up dirt, threw it in the face of Elizabeth Hilton, then took a handful of dirt, and following her, caught her by the hood, holding her behind the head with one hand, cramming the dirt into her mouth with the other. Being with some difficulty got into a neighbour's house, and apprehended to be near expiring, the constable was sent for to keep the peace, but he came not.

The men, after being spoiled of their substance, by one Smith, an informer, had been almost all sent to prison, by the instigation of the same priest.

Many more extraordinary cases of their sufferings might be produced in this year.

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### CHAP. III.

SEVEN HUNDRED OF THE PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS IN PRISON.—PERSECUTION AT BRISTOL AND IN LONDON CONTINUED.

IN 1683 persecution continued rather increasing in many places, the number of prisoners of the people called Quakers, in the different parts of England, being computed upwards of seven hundred. But still that carried on in the city of Bristol, seems as generally affecting the members of this society as in any part of the nation. They were not only cast into prison, but inhumanly treated there, not only by Knight, Helliard and their assistants, but the jailer, whose name was Isaac Dennis, in imitation of his superiors, made their imprisonment as distressing as possible. Some of the prisoners desiring to work at their callings for their subsistence, he would not allow them the liberty. One Richard Lindy, a blind man, near ninety years of age, being carried to jail, was forced for want of a bed, to sit up three nights in a chair, though others offered to pay for his lodging, if a convenient place had been allowed him. Some in prison fell sick of the spotted fever, of whom three died. Whereupon Friends desired Dennis, that they might go out in order for their recovery. He pretended he was willing, if the magistrates would consent; but when they wrote to the magistrates, he used his endeavours to prevent the success of their application. To some Friends, who were taken sick, he behaved with great inhumanity; refusing one the use of his friend's fire, to another the liberty of removing out of the distracting noise of swearers

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swearers and drunkards, though the new sheriff ordered him to do it, yet he detained him in his uncomfortable lodging till he died. He, his wife, and underkeeper were rudely abusive to them, pulling the men by the hair, throwing them down stairs, haling, and kicking women, and throwing them down, to the hurting them grievously, calling them "rogues, whores, cheats," and such like.

About the middle of October, the jailer was taken sick, when the reflection upon his past life filled him with inconceivable anguish of mind, under which he expressed his wish, "that he had never seen the inside of the jail, for it had undone him." He desired the Quaker prisoners, whom he had misused, to forgive him for what he had done; to which they answered, "they did forgive him, but he should ask forgiveness of God." His anguish increased to such a degree as to cause a fear that he would go distracted. The physicians ordering him to be bled, he signified to this effect: "None of their prescriptions would do him any good, his distemper being beyond their reach; his day was over, and there was no hope of mercy for him." Some Friends charitably endeavoured to administer comfort, hinting, "that they hoped his day was not over, seeing he was so fully sensible of his condition." To which he replied, "I thank you for your good hope; but I have no faith to believe." Whatever was thus spoken to relieve him gave him no ease, but languishing in despair about a month, he died without discovering any hope of forgiveness.

From the dismal catastrophe of this once unfeeling jailer we may draw this inference; that although, under the impulse of our passions, and our gratification of them, we may for the season silence the reproaches of the monitor in our own breasts, lull conscience asleep, and blunt its stings, yet a time will come

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when it will awake, make itself heard, new point its sting, and strike it to the heart.

All the abuse and loss of substance this people had already sustained, not being sufficient to satiate their persecutors, many of them were returned into the Exchequer on the statute of 20l. for absence from the national worship, the amount of whose fines came to the enormous sum of 16,440l. for which several were distrained; but how much was actually levied of these fines I find no certain account. Not satisfied with depriving them of their liberty, property and personal ease, these persecutors proceeded next to essay how far they could succeed in an attempt against their lives: they began with Richard Vickris, who had before felt the effects of their malevolence in fines, imprisonments and personal abuse. He was the son of Robert Vickris, formerly merchant and alderman of Bristol, and afterward of Chew-magna, in Somersetshire; he was convinced of the principles of this people in his youth. To divert him from joining in society with the Quakers, his father set him to travel in France, but was disappointed of his intention; for Richard, through disgust at the superstition of the ceremonious religion of that country, was more confirmed in his adoption of one, which rejected ceremony and vain shew, in pursuit of the substantial part; and therefore, upon his return, openly embraced the profession of that religion, of the reasonableness whereof he had been convinced. In 1680 he was imprisoned upon an excommunication; he was afterwards subjected to frequent fines and distrains for attending meetings; and now, last of all, they proceeded to put the statute of 35 Eliz. in force against him, the penalty of which hath been already recited, and that the last parliament repealed it, but the royal assent was eluded.

At the sessions, previous to the time called Easter, Richard Vickris was indicted on that statute; but

demurring to the jurisdiction of the court, and refusing to plead, he was committed to prison. At a following sessions he was admitted to bail, on security given to answer the indictment; between that and Midsummer sessions he procured an *habeas corpus*, to remove his body and cause out of that court.

At an adjournment of the said sessions, on the 20th of 6th month, called August, he presented his *habeas corpus*, had his recognizance discharged, and was delivered to the custody of the sheriff. Yet, notwithstanding, at the instigation of Sir John Knight, he was hurried to his trial at the close of the sessions, on the 23d of the same month; and though he requested not to be surpris'd into an unexpected trial for his life, in the absence of his counsel, but to be allowed time to prepare for his defence, the court, under the influence of Knight, Helliar, and others, would grant him no delay. He found means, however, to retain counsel, who ably pleaded his cause, assigned a variety of errors in the indictment, shew'd clearly that the witnesses had not proved him an offender against the statute upon which he was indicted. That the witnesses had sworn he was at a meeting on the day mentioned in the indictment; but he had been punished already by the conventicle act for the same meeting, which act enacted, that no person punished by this act shall be punished for the same offence by virtue of any other law or statute whatsoever. But the court overruling every plea, and selecting the jury\* to answer the purposes of his ad-

\* Trial by jury is esteemed the bulwark of the Englishman's life and liberty; but we meet with many instances, in this reign, that the *forms of a free constitution* may be preserved, and yet under these *forms*, real injustice and arbitrary sway be exercised. For when corruption generally prevails, it saps the foundations of a free government, and under the shade of the form, the substance is frequently lost: and when the spirit of party is joined to corruption of manners, small is the security the vanquished party derive from constitutional privileges.

## PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS. 85

adversaries, made no difficulty to bring him in guilty; in consequence, sentence was passed upon him, viz. "that he should conform, or abjure the realm in three months, or suffer death as a felon, without benefit of clergy." The recorder then admonished him to conform: Richard Vickris answered, "He presumed he would not desire his conformity against his conscience; and that to play the hypocrite with man was hateful, much more with God." He expressed his sentiments with freedom, and returned to his prison undismayed at his dismal sentence.— He lay in prison till the next year, when the time for his abjuring the realm being expired, he was liable to the execution of the sentence; for he, who in point of conscience could not *swear at all*, was necessarily restrained from the abjuration.

His adversaries, having gained their point thus far, seemed determined to proceed to the execution of the sentence against him: but conscious that the iniquity of their proceeding, would not stand the test of examination, and apprehensive of the public odium that might attend the full execution of this sanguinary law, they added one injury to another, endeavouring to take away his good name, before they took away his life; that, by blackening the one, they might deprive him of protection, and rescue themselves from the detestation naturally attendant upon the other. They very unjustly represented him as a person disaffected to the government. But it pleased Providence to deliver him out of their hands. For his wife in her distress took a journey to London, to make interest with the government in his favour, and by the assistance of her friends there, got admission to the Duke of York, (who bore the chief sway at court,) and laid her husband's hard case before him: upon hearing which he declared, "that neither his royal brother nor himself desired that any of his subjects should suffer for the exercise

of



of their consciences, who were of peaceable behaviour under his government ;" and thereupon gave such directions as were effectual to procure his discharge. He was now removed, by *habeas corpus* and *writ of error*, from Newgate in Bristol to London, and brought to the King's Bench bar, where upon the errors assigned by counsellor Pollexfen, he was cleared of the sentence on the 35 Eliz. by Sir George Jefferies, lord chief justice, and so was legally discharged, to the great joy of his aged father, his distressed wife and family, and his friends throughout the nation. His father lived to see him after his discharge, but survived his return only three days by whose will he succeeded to his estate and seat at Chew, in which he fixed his residence, and lived there conspicuous for his virtue and benevolence.

This persecution in Bristol continued till King James issued his proclamation for a free pardon with his special warrant for comprehending the Quakers therein : upon which they were set at liberty, and thenceforth the persecution in this city for their religious meetings entirely ceased.

In London, in this year, numbers were imprisoned from the sundry meetings, fined as rioters, and imprisoned again for their fines ; distrained by Exchequer process for absence from the national worship, harassed and plundered by informers and soldiers, particularly John Elson, being fined 20l. for the Peel meeting-house, and 10l. for an unknown preacher, was distrained by Yates, headborough of Clerkenwell, and Gabriel Shad\*, informers and

\* This Shad was committed to Newgate for stealing goods from one William Lemman to the value of 300l. and upon trial was found guilty of felony ; but by the favour of his powerful friends he was freed from the gallows, burned in the hand and discharged. He then pursued his former occupation ; such infamous characters even at this time being only to be procured to fill an office too odious for conscientious and reputable persons to have any concern with. *Sewel*, p. 587.

assistant

assistants, upon two warrants granted by Peter Sabbs, justice. They broke open his doors in his absence, after seven o'clock at night in October, kept possession of his house all night, eating, drinking, and carousing to excess of what they found in the house, saying, "all was the King's." The woman of the house, Mary Elson, was obliged to sit up all night, nor would they suffer any neighbour to bear her company, a soldier of the gang threatening to stab some of them, who were desirous to go in. They seized four cartloads of household goods, a chest belonging to a lodger, in which were writings of importance; the servants' wearing apparel, and several things belonging to two widows (which Mary Elson apprized them were not her husband's property) and eight loads of timber and boards out of the yard. The meeting house, for which the seizure was made, not being the property of the said John Elson, he made his appeal, and got his goods again, upon payment of 30l. into the hands of the said justice Sabbs; but before the time of trying his appeal, the justice absconded, and the money was lost.

George Whitehead, in his journal, page 543, gives the following account of some part of Friends sufferings in London at this time:

"Being shut out of our meeting-houses for divers years in and about the cities of London and Westminster, and our meetings kept in the streets, in all sorts of weather, was a trial and hardship upon us, even upon old and young, men and women. But that trial was not so great as to have our estates and livelihoods exposed to ruin by a pack of ravenous informers; although it was no small hardship to our persons to be kept out of doors in the great, severe, and long frost and snow in 1683, for about three months together, when the river Thames was so frozen, that horses, coaches and carts could pass

to and fro upon it, and a street be erected and stand over it."

In Cheshire, Thomas Needham and Philip Egerton, justices, committed at one time about eighty persons to Chester Castle, from a meeting at Newton, where they could find neither rooms nor lodging for such a number, so that they were obliged for two nights, some of them to walk about, others to lie on tables and benches, and some on flags spread on the floor. At length thirty of them were put into a filthy dungeon, out of which the felons were then removed.

Robert Blennel, priest of Fen-Stanton, in Huntingdonshire, prosecuted Elizabeth Gray in the ecclesiastical court for tithes. She was a poor widow of about eighty years of age, and so infirm that she could scarce go out of her house; yet the prosecutor was so hard-hearted as to apply to the justices to send her to prison, she being certified by the ecclesiastical court as contumacious. But the justices refused, in regard of her age, remarking, "that she was an object fitter for her grave than a prison." The priest being disappointed of his design, cited her son, William Gray, into the court for the same claim of tithes, and procured a certificate of contumacy against him; but upon examination before the justices, it appearing, he was only a servant to his mother, they discharged him.

In Somersetshire Friends were imprisoned in great numbers, informers were encouraged against them and protected in perjury; they were fined, distrained and excommunicated; their meeting-houses defaced and the forms broken or burned.

1680. Giles Barnardiston, of Clare, in the county of Suffolk, who finished his course this year, was an eminent instance of the efficacy of pure religion. He was born about the year 1624, and received a liberal education, both in seminaries of literature, and

at the university, where he followed his studies six years, being designed for the ministerial office. But when he had an offer of preferment in the church, he felt a reluctance in himself to undertake the charge, looking at the function as too weighty an undertaking for him to enter upon in the present state of his mind, he resisted the solicitations of his friends to accept of the place provided for him, whereby he incurred their displeasure.

After breaking out of the civil war, he obtained a colonel's commission in the army; but soon grew weary thereof, and laid down his commission.

He then retired to Wormingford Lodge in Essex, where in privacy he commenced a stricter life than before; and being seriously thoughtful about the way to life and salvation, and earnestly desirous of associating with some body of people who were sincerely engaged in investigating the right way.— About the year 1661 he felt an inclination to acquaint himself with the principles of the people called Quakers, and invited some of them to his house. George Fox the younger being then at Colchester, paid him a visit in company with George Wetherly, and was kindly received; when entering into religious conversation, George Fox discoursed concerning the light of Christ Jesus, "who tasted death for every man," and "enlighteneth every man that cometh into the world," that they might have life; this scriptural doctrine agreeing with Giles Barnardiston's own experience, he joined in society with the people called Quakers, at the very time when they were exposed to that cruel abuse in Colchester, which is before described, when neither his rank in life, his qualifications, nor his respectable character were sufficient to exempt him from participating in their sufferings. He willingly bore his part in that storm of persecution, in the hottest time of which he constantly attended the religious meetings



ings of his friends without shrinking at the danger, and undauntedly hazarded his life for the testimony of a good conscience.

In 1669 he removed to Clare in Suffolk, the place of his nativity; and here also, in conjunction with his brethren, was obnoxious to suffering. For in the next year, upon the last conventicle act coming in force, Robert Dawkins, a parish officer of Haverhill, and Elias Dowty, an informer, were very active in coming to the meetings there, which were constantly held, and taking the names of the persons present, gave information to Gervas Elways, a justice of the peace, who readily granted warrants for distress, which were executed with the utmost rigour. Giles Barnardiston with two others had the value of 32l. 5s. taken from them in a few months, Dawkins urging on the other informers and officers, saying, "Come, sirs, let us do what we do quickly, for this trade will not last long." After suffering spoil of their substance, they were debarred of the use of their meeting-house, and obliged to meet in the street during the winter, where they received much personal abuse.

In the same year he made his appearance in the ministry, and proved an able minister of the gospel. Notwithstanding he had but a tender constitution, yet he travelled many journeys in divers parts of England and in Holland, for the purpose of propagating pure religion amongst Friends and others. His motives, and the ends he had in view, he himself hath declared to the following purport, viz. "It is but a short time, and we shall have done with this world; and I desire that I may be faithful to the end, that I may enjoy that of the hand of the Lord which I received truth for. If it had not been to obtain peace of conscience while I am in this world, and hopes of everlasting rest with God in the world to come, I would never have left the glory and plea-

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sure of this world, which I had, and might have enjoyed my share of, with those who are delighting themselves therein; neither would I now leave my habitation, where I have an affectionate wife, and every domestic comfort, which a man fearing God need desire, if it was not to obey the Lord, and to make known his truth unto others, that so they may come to be saved. For this cause do I forsake father and mother, wife and estate; and whosoever thinks otherwise of me, with the rest of my faithful brethren whom God hath called into his work, are all mistaken concerning us, and I would they knew us better." At last, after all his labour, in which he discharged himself with fidelity, to the spiritual advantage of many, after all his trials and sufferings and travels, he was taken ill in his return from London to Chelmsford, and after a short sickness, in which he expressed his resignation, "that the Lord was his portion, and that he was freely given up to die, which was gain to him," he departed this life in peace the 11th of the 11th month, 1680, O. S. about fifty-six years of age, leaving behind him deep impressions of grateful respect and honourable esteem of his memory in the hearts of many of his survivors.

1681. Thomas Taylor, an ancient and faithful minister, died in the course of this year. He was born at or near Skipton, in Yorkshire, about the year 1616, and received a liberal education at the university of Oxford, in order to qualify him for the priesthood. He was first a lecturer at Richmond, in Yorkshire, and afterwards obtained a living in Westmoreland, where he officiated as a national teacher, and sometimes resigned his pulpit to John Audland and Francis Howgill before they were convinced.—Being scrupulous in respect to some ceremonies retained in the established church, he declined the use thereof, and was in consequence numbered amongst the

the Puritans, and his audience was principally composed of this class. The bishops being at this time, in a good measure, deprived of their jurisdiction, he retained his benefice till 1652, when he relinquished it voluntarily. For George Fox being come into these parts, he, in company with some other priests, had an inclination to have an interview with him, and for that purpose went over to Swarthmore.—His companions opposed George Fox's sentiments with some marks of resentment; but Thomas Taylor being convinced of the truth of his doctrine, joined him as a companion in travel and in ministerial labour: and being now persuaded of the unlawfulness of preaching for hire, he resigned his living, and preached Christ freely, according to his divine command. He travelled in many parts of England. At Oxford he maintained his principles against the exceptions of John Owen, at that time vice-chancellor of the university; and even the scholars admitted Thomas had the advantage in argument, being sustained by a wisdom superior to that of schools.

His travels were interrupted by a succession of imprisonments. In 1657, conceiving it his duty to deliver an exhortation to the people assembled in the public place of worship at Appleby, in Westmoreland, and essaying to discharge himself in this apprehension of duty, he was apprehended and cast into prison there, in the sixth month, 1657, and detained till 1659. In the next year, 1660, in the general imprisonment of the members of this society, upon the insurrection of Venner and his party, he was again imprisoned in York castle, in company with a number of Friends, five hundred and upwards, taken in like manner as hath been repeatedly remarked upon that imprisonment in other parts, many from their meetings, some on the highway, some from their lawful occupations, and some out of their beds; they continued in prison till about the 9th of the ad-  
month,

O. S. called April; and after lying in prison, some two months, and some three, were generally discharged. In the next year, 1661, travelling in Leicestershire, on the road toward Swanington, he was met by a company of soldiers, and passing by them without pulling off his hat, some of them cried out "a fanatic," and riding after him, brought him back, kept him a prisoner all night, and next day after hurrying him from place to place, at length met with two country justices, who tendered him the oath of allegiance, and, for his refusal to take it, committed him to Leicester jail; how long he was detained I find no account: in the succeeding year, he was again imprisoned in Stafford jail, and at the ensuing assizes was indicted for refusing to take the oath of allegiance, and had sentence of premunire passed upon him, under which he continued a prisoner about ten years, till King Charles II. issued his letters patent for the general discharge of the Quakers from prison in 1672. In 1679, being occasionally at the house of William Heawood at Keele, three or four friends and some neighbours came in, to whom Thomas felt something on his mind to communicate in way of exhortation, which having done, he afterwards prayed. Ralph Bostock, clerk to justice, had informed his master thereof, who sent for two of the neighbours that were present, and obliged them to make oath of the same; upon which he fined Thomas Taylor for preaching 20l. from William Heawood, Humphry Morgan, and John Smith, he caused distress to be taken to the value of 7l. 10s. Thus spending much of his time while at liberty in religious labour, to the spiritual benefit of many people; and in his successive imprisonments, for the last part of twelve years, being supported by the consciousness of suffering in a good cause, and in patient acquiescence in divine disposal, he held his integrity to the last, and finished his course in Stafford



ford the 18th of 1st month, 1681, O. S. being about sixty-five years of age, leaving behind him a good report amongst the inhabitants of that town, where he had resided for several years.

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## CHAP. IV.

### PUBLIC AFFAIRS, &c.

**E**VER since the Oxford parliament was dissolved, the court party went beyond all bounds of moderation; for, besides the oppressive persecution of dissenters, the civil liberties and peculiar privileges of the subjects were not left uninfringed by the hand of arbitrary sway. After the violence committed on the citizens of London, by extorting their charter into the king's hands, the other corporations were prevailed upon to deliver up theirs and accept such others as the court would grant.

Many of the country party, viewing with extreme uneasiness the arbitrary proceedings of government, thought it requisite that some measures should be taken for the preservation thereof, which (it's like) they still thought the exclusion of the Duke of York necessary, and for this purpose they held several consultations, of which information being given to government, several persons were taken up, tried, and executed for a plot against the King and the Duke of York, the principal of whom was Lord Russel, son of the Earl of Bedford, who having shewn a determined zeal for the exclusion of the duke from the crown, is thought many to have fallen a sacrifice to the resentment of the court; and that the charge of high treason was not legally proved against him; much less against

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ng about Algernon Sidney, esq. who also lost his life on a scaffold, on account of the same plot.

The discovery of this plot, whatever it was, and the executions consequent thereto, strengthened the hands of the persecuting magistrates, by furnishing a pretext for rigorous measures under the mask of vigilance for the public security. The Quakers, amongst the rest, suffering under the weight of additional oppression, and thinking themselves called upon to take away the occasion sought against them, by exculpating their society from any concern in plotting or acting against government, presented an address to the king, wherein they declared, "That as known to the Divine Majesty, and the all-seeing wisdom whereby kings reign and princes decree justice, that our manifold, extreme and continued sufferings, being only on a religious account, have not been the least motive or provocation to us to desire, much less to contrive, the least hurt either to thy person or government, or to the person of thy brother the Duke of York, &c. We are clear in the sight of God, angels and men, from all hellish plots and traiterous conspiracies, and from all murderous designs and undertakings against the king, his brother, or any person on earth whatsoever, being works of the devil and darkness; having contrarywise learned of Christ Jesus our Lord, by his light and grace in our hearts, not so much as by force to defend, much less avenge ourselves for injuries done us, but to commit our cause to him that judgeth righteously, as peaceable followers of our Saviour and Redeemer, in his patient example and sufferings, who is the prince of peace.

"O king, we do further declare, that God Almighty hath taught and engaged us to acknowledge and humbly to obey magistracy (as his ordinance) in all things not repugnant to his law and light in our consciences, which is certainly agreeable to the holy scripture,

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scriptures, and admits not of any immoral or injurious action. And that even, where through tenderness of conscience we cannot conform, 'tis our duty patiently to suffer, and not to rebel nor seek revenge. And we hope, by his divine grace, ever to demean ourselves as peaceable-minded Christians, in our conversations under the civil government. And as we do sincerely and with reverence confess to divine power and providence in thy restoration, and the preservation of thy person hitherto, so our prayers and supplications are to the Almighty for thy future safety and peace; and that in a thankful remembrance of God's great mercies towards thee, thou mayest be thereby obliged to shew mercy, and to relieve the oppressed from these unmerited afflictions and persecutions, which a great number of us, thy peaceable subjects, do even at this day suffer."

Although the king, who did not naturally delight in cruelty, seemed affected with the exhibition of unreasonable and unmerited sufferings, mentioned in the petition; and after the Friends who presented it, were withdrawn, expressed himself, as they were informed, to one of his courtiers standing by, "What shall we do for this people, the prisons are full of them?" The party to whom he addressed this query, to divert his attention therefrom, drew him into conversation upon some other topick, so that little or no relaxation of the oppressive measures resulted from this address, nor during the remainder of this monarch's reign.

While the society was harassed by persecution from others, there had arisen a dissent among themselves, which was now of some years standing.

The leaders of this opposition were two northern countrymen, John Wilkinson and John Story; who having appeared as ministers, began to consider themselves as elders worthy of pre-eminence, and

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ook for greater deference, than the more sensible part of their brethren thought it right to pay them; who rather warned them of the danger in which they appeared to be of losing themselves by indulging an aspiring mind. Disregarding these admonitions, they endeavoured to gain adherents from amongst the weaker members of the society, which threatened an open breach; to prevent which, if possible, care was taken by the quarterly meeting of Westmoreland, by appointing a number of unprejudiced Friends, of the neighbouring counties, who had no concern in the differences, to hear and determine the matter; but their opponents, by letter, refused to come.

The yearly meeting, in 1676, soon after coming on, this division in Westmoreland engaged the attention thereof. In result the said meeting wrote two epistles, one of caution and advice to Wilkinson and Story, as leaders of the opposition, to dissolve their separate meeting, and to be reconciled to their brethren, before they went abroad to offer their visit; the other was directed to their meeting, advising them to withdraw therefrom, and return to their former fellowship with the society.

This difference about church discipline drew from William Penn a small treatise, entitled "A brief examination of Liberty spiritual," designed to inform the judgments of the dissatisfied. Robert Barclay also handled the subject more copiously, in a piece under the title of "The Anarchy of the Quakers and other Libertines, the Hierarchy of the Romanists, and other pretended Churches, equally refused and refuted." In which he vindicated the discipline established amongst this people against those, who accuse them of disorder on one hand, and such as calumniate them with tyranny on the other. He drew upon himself much reproach from these separatists, who imagined his work was pointed



ed at their dissent, and found his arguments too conclusive to answer.

Of these leaders of separation, Story was the more considerable among their partizans, and more active in propagating the dissent in other parts of the nation. For this purpose he travelled in sundry parts, but it was in Bristol and some of the western counties that he gained most adherents; amongst these, William Rogers, a merchant of Bristol, a bold and active man, stood forth as champion of their cause. He first discovered himself as such in advancing sundry objections to Robert Barclay's book which he handed about in manuscript about the year 1677: upon which, at Robert Barclay's request, he met him in London, in order that by a conference before divers Friends from different parts of the nation, Robert Barclay might have an opportunity of explaining the passages objected to, which he apprehended William Rogers had misunderstood, in order, that by convincing him of his mistakes, an undividing controversy might be prevented. In consequence of this conference, William Rogers wrote a letter to his friends, in which is the following passage: "The meeting was this day had, and in it a *christian* and *very fair* debate, to the satisfaction of both of us, as far as I can understand; and the matters chiefly objected by me were fairly and brotherly like, and in much love, discoursed; and upon the whole matter I am satisfied, that Robert Barclay is not principled so as I and others have taken his book to import."

Yet, notwithstanding this fair concession, some months after, William Rogers and his adherents wrote other papers against Robert Barclay's book, not devoid of uncharitable reflections upon the author, and spread them abroad unknown to him while he was confined in prison at Aberdeen. This ungenerous treatment occasioned Robert Barclay

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write a vindication and explanatory postscript to his "Anarchy of the Ranters."

In 1682, William Rogers published a quarto volume, to which he gave the pompous title of, "The Christian Quaker, distinguished from the Apostate and Innovator;" under the former description comprehending himself and his own party; who applauding his book, increased his vanity to that degree, that he came up to the yearly meeting at London in 1682; and at the conclusion thereof he gave notice in writing to this effect, viz. "that if any were dissatisfied with his book, he was there ready to maintain and defend both it and himself against all opposers." An answer was immediately returned him in writing, that, "as many were dissatisfied with his book and him, he should not fail (God willing) to be met by the sixth hour next morning at the meeting place at Devonshire house."

The meeting was held accordingly, and continued till noon, when he (having many of his party with him) was so fairly foiled, that he quitted both the meeting and the city abruptly, refusing a second meeting, which was offered for the further discussion of the subject.

This book of his did not pass unanswered: Thomas Elwood published a reply to it, under the title of "An Antidote against the Infection of William Rogers's book, miscalled the Christian Quaker." To which it doth not appear that any rejoinder was ever given. George Whitehead also published remarks upon it, in a piece, entitled "The Accuser of the Brethren cast down."

These separatists found themselves too loosely compacted to adhere long together; the more sincere reunited themselves to the society, and the rest dwindled away.

The Quakers renewed their application for relief

from their sufferings, but with no better success than before.

The informers harassed them with insolence, perjury, and rapine, upon the conventicle act, till they left some of them neither a bed nor even a stool to sit upon; so that whole families, who had supported themselves in decency, were reduced to the necessity of relying upon the humanity of their neighbours for a night's lodging; and as if the penalty of the conventicle act, unreasonably severe as it was, was yet inadequate to the rapacity of these informers, in numerous instances they resorted to the act 23 Eliz. for 20l. a month for absence from the national worship, whereby numbers suffered repeated and exorbitant seizures of their effects, to the ruin of their outward circumstances. They continued to be prosecuted in the Exchequer for tithes; in the ecclesiastical courts to excommunication, and to premunire for not swearing. The trials for riots, of which we have given some examples in former years, were still in use, and the defendants generally brought in guilty, imprisoned, and fined by the partial judges and juries of this corrupt and licentious age, and the prisons to be crowded with members of this society, in addition to those already confined.

This year died William Bennet of Woodbridge in Suffolk. He frequented the meetings of the Independents for some time: but, upon more intimate acquaintance with them, he became dissatisfied. When bearing the public testimony of some Quakers, he was so affected therewith, that he joined their society, and continued therein till his death. He received a gift in the ministry, and travelled in many parts of England, to the edification of his Friends, and conviction of others; adorning his profession by the innocence and integrity of his life. Yet his sufferings were remarkable; he appears to have spent, at least in the latter part of his life,



life, nearly as much, if not more time in prison, than in the enjoyment of his liberty; not for any real offence, but for preserving the testimony of a good conscience.

By his close and continued confinement he grew weaker and weaker, till, as many others had done, he fell a sacrifice to the vindictive temper of partial magistrates, and the forced construction of unequal laws; for the hardship of his unmerited imprisonment caused his death, the 23d of the 4th month, 1684.

Equally remarkable were the sufferings of Thomas Stordy, of Moorhouse, in Cumberland, who also laid down his life this year in Carlisle jail, under a cruel persecution. He was descended from a family of repute in that county, and born to the inheritance of a handsome estate; and had his religious sentiments fallen in with the passion for conformity, now predominant, he might have bid fair for making some figure in his country.

About the term of middle age, he joined in society with the Independents; amongst whom he was in particular estimation for his talent in exhortations, expositions, and such like religious exercises in use amongst them. After some time he left them, and joined the Quakers. In this society he spent the remainder of his life.

He was first imprisoned in 1660, for declining to take the oath of allegiance, and detained in prison nine weeks. We have already seen his illegal imprisonment at Carlisle, in 1662, and his condemnation in a premunire; under which he was detained a close prisoner ten years, from his wife and family, until he was released by the King's declaration, in 1672. His real estate was recovered through the intercession of Charles Howard, Earl of Carlisle; but his personal estate entirely lost; and as if his imprisonment and the loss of his substance were not



a sufficient gratification of the enmity of the persecutors, in 1670, whilst lying under this confinement, now of eight years duration; a warrant was granted against his goods and chattels, for a fine of 20*l.* 10*s.* upon the conventicle act, for a meeting at Moorhouse. Thus harassed by prosecution upon prosecution, and penalty upon penalty, though innocent of any crime; first arbitrarily imprisoned as seditious, though guiltless of any seditious practice; again still more arbitrarily imprisoned without apparent cause; and to detain him there, occasion was sought against him to deprive him at once of his liberty and property, by a snare laid for the purpose, because he durst not violate the command of Christ; fined for a meeting, when he was under restraint several miles from it; and, last of all, prosecuted by one Launcelot Simpson\*, a proctor, on the statute

\* The character of Launcelot Simpson may be gathered from his treatment of Richard Banks; who, being a farmer, rented some land, which Simpson purchased; but not content with the rent of his purchase, he adopted a plan for possessing himself of the best part of the tenant's property. He prosecuted him in the ecclesiastical court to excommunication, and under pretence that all he had was too little to defray the expence of the prosecution, he came one day, in the owner's absence, with an assistant, and nailed up his granary and barn door, turning out all his thrashers. He came again in the night, when the family was in bed, and took possession of his stable and cow-house, and turned out his cattle; and the snow lying thick on the ground, some of the young calves perished, and others were with difficulty recovered. He caused the hedge to be torn away from the hay stack, and put his own cattle to eat it. The poor man had about nine score sheep; to these Simpson pretended a title, and by those means deterred others from purchasing any of them; so that after contesting his claim, and the death of near a third part, the owner was obliged to let Simpson take them at his own price, which was about one third of the value. Richard Banks, perceiving he was like to obtain neither quiet nor property, while exposed to the chicanery and oppression of this man, took another farm twenty miles

statute of 23 Eliz. for 20l. a month, for absence from the public worship, cast into prison, and detained there several years, until his death; which happened the 22d of December, 1684.

As he sought for solid peace of mind through many tribulations, he was favoured therewith at his conclusion; for not long before his decease, being visited by some of his friends, he encouraged them to faithfulness, by this testimony to the advantage thereof; "If you continue faithful to the Lord, whilst ye live in this world, he will reward you, as he now rewardeth me, with his sweet peace."

His testimony against tithes was truly conscientious; for after he was convinced of the impropriety of the demand, he not only refused to pay them, but to receive them; for he inherited, from his predecessors, an impropriation of 10l. per annum, which he released to the owners of the lands from whence they accrued, (to whom he thought they belonged of right,) by a legal instrument, quitting claim thereto, for himself, his heirs, and assigns for ever.

miles distant. Even thither Simpson pursued him, and shortly after had him arrested on a writ of excommunication; but this, upon examination, proving out of date, his purpose was prevented at that time. He afterwards caused both the said Richard and his wife to be apprehended together, and taken away from their children and servants, by such rude unfeeling persons as are generally employed in such offices, who would not give them time to leave the necessary directions behind them, nor scarce speak to their workmen; having at that time ten men at work. On their way to prison they met Simpson, of whom Richard demanded, before witnesses, "if he owed him any thing:" but the other could not make any demand appear, only reckoning his imprisonment was for contempt of the law. Richard then desiring the forbearance of only two days to put his affairs in some order, Simpson replied, "He would not give him two hours."

Persecution was carried on to the death of King Charles II. without relaxation; at which time, little less than one thousand five hundred of this people were in prison on various prosecutions.

## IRELAND.

ACCOUNT OF WILLIAM MORRIS.—BENJAMIN BANGS VISITS IRELAND.—DISSENTERS ORDERED TO DISCONTINUE THEIR MEETINGS.—&c.

THIS year died William Morris, of Castle-Salem, in the county of Cork, who, at the time William Edmundson was put in the stocks at Belturbet, was an elder of repute amongst the Baptists, and a man in authority; being a captain in the army, a justice of peace, and commissioner of the revenue; and upon the occasion remonstrated against the magistracy there, in favour of William and his brethren, telling these persecuting Independents, "the time would come, when they would be glad to shelter under their (the Quakers) wings." Though he was a man of great abilities, he had been convinced by a weak instrument; and it being now known that he had joined this people, his commissions were taken from him.

He was a serviceable member of this society, particularly in applications to government on behalf of his suffering friends, with whom he also shared in suffering. He wrote an excellent little tract, entitled, "Tithes no Gospel Ordinance."

Benjamin Bangs, from Cheshire, landed in Dublin, and travelled through several parts of this nation, exercising his ministry to the edification of his brethren, and their number was increased by the conviction of many, who before had not professed with them.



## PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS. 195

In the course of his travels he came to Antrim, the inhabitants of which town were mostly Presbyterians; sundry emigrants from Scotland having at different times removed to settle in these parts. He had a meeting here in the evening, which was greatly crowded by these high professors, some of whom are said to have come with a design to oppose him. The meeting house being too small to contain the number resorting thereto, the people without grew tumultuous, and at length, while Benjamin was preaching, began to throw pieces of dirt and turf; upon observing such rudeness, he made a full stop, which occasioned a general silence; and after a short pause, he made this remark; "I understand this is a place of great profession of religion. I am sorry to see so much irreligion as appears amongst you at this time, through your rude behaviour. It is not long since I came out of my native country, and I think it will not be long ere I return again; and then what shall I say of you to your poor suffering brethren in England?" This remonstrance, expressed in great awfulness, affected the more considerate part of the audience; who exerting themselves to quell the disorder, the meeting afterwards was held in great solemnity, whereby a young man of the popish persuasion was convinced, as were many others.

Benjamin, to the aforesaid remonstrance, was concerned to add this prediction; "The time draws nigh that ye will be blown away like chaff before the summer thrashing floor, and the place of your meetings shall not be found;" which, before he left the nation, he found to be brought to pass. After attending the half-year's meeting in Dublin; and travelling southward to Cork, and from thence to Tralee, in the county of Kerry, a place where no Quakers resided, and where they were little known; amongst these strangers, to whom, from a particular impulse



impulse on his mind, he paid this religious visit, he had a comfortable meeting: returning again to the north, on the way from Antrim to Grange, he observed ten or twelve men walking along in a very solitary manner, and it arose in his heart, "These are sheep having no shepherd." When he came up to them, he entered into discourse with them; and inquiring of them, if they were going to a meeting, they answered, "*Our minister is silenced*, for orders are come down, prohibiting all dissenters from assembling, *so now we have no teacher*;" which appeared to him in effect to verify his prediction, "that their meeting could not be found." For the inimical disposition entertained at this time by the ruling party in England against dissenters, having spread to Ireland, exerted itself in similar measures of persecution to suppress their meetings, which produced the effect designed here as well as there with the several other classes of dissenters. The people generally, except the Quakers, declined their public meetings, and their teachers absconded, to escape persecution.

Benjamin Bangs, from the previous discourse took occasion to bring them off from a dependance upon hireling teachers, and to turn them to the teacher that cannot "be removed into a corner;" "The inward principle of the grace of God, that bringeth salvation, and hath appeared unto all men teaching them what to deny, and how to live;" Titus, iii. 11. 12. "The manifestation of the spirit given to every one to profit withal;" 1 Cor. xii. advising them to turn their minds inward, and mind the secret operations of it, whereby they would find by a lively experience, that it checks for bad words and bad actions; and as they minded its teaching they would find it would lead them into all truth. The men were well pleased, and affected with his

discourse, declaring, at parting, they had never heard things so opened to them in their lives.

Having travelled upwards of one thousand seven hundred miles, held one hundred and eighty meetings, exclusive of Dublin, and spent near twelve months in laborious and profitable service amongst his friends and others, he returned home.

William Edmundson and Robert Jackson, having been prosecuted in the bishop's court to excommunication for non-payment of tithes, were taken upon a writ, committed to prison, and detained prisoners about twenty weeks, when the Earl of Ely (their landlord) interesting himself to procure their liberty, the bishop ordered them to appear personally in his court at Kildare, where they appeared accordingly before the bishop, in company with several priests, the aforesaid earl, and sundry other persons of note. The bishop desired to know William Edmundson's reasons why he did not pay tithes; but William was not forward to enter upon the subject, being diffident of his capacity to manage it, so as not to hurt a good cause, through a weak defence. Notwithstanding, as the bishop was urgent, a conference commenced, which held for three hours, wherein William was enabled, with wisdom and understanding, as he thought, superior to his own, and a ready recollection of arguments from scripture, to prove tithes "abolished, and that it was an unchristian to pay or receive them in the gospel dispensation," to the full satisfaction of the audience; so that their suffering and this conference thereupon had a good effect, and some other religious subjects were handled, which afforded William Edmundson an opportunity to explain the principles of Friends, in relation to a gospel ministry, faith, and the true worship of God. The bishop soon after caused them to be released, and afterwards both himself and

the officers of his court behaved with kindness towards the members of this society.

About the middle of the summer of 1683, a fresh order was issued by government to the several sects of dissenters in Dublin, to forbear meeting publicly in their worship houses as formerly: and the archbishop of Dublin sending for Anthony Sharp, informed him, that it was the desire of government that his friends also should forbear their public assemblies; but Friends returned answer, that they believed it was their indispensable duty to meet together, and not to neglect this reasonable service for fear of human penalties; the end of their assemblies being purely for divine worship, and for no other purpose. In consequence of these orders, other dissenters generally deserted their meetings; but the Quakers, under persuasion of duty, assembled together as formerly, and thereby became obnoxious to censure and punishment from the secular power, but in a degree very short of the sufferings of their brethren in England. Upon a first day the marshal and several of the mayor's officers came to the meeting at Wormwood Gate, where finding John Burnyeat preaching, the marshal commanded him to go along with him, which, after some discourse, he did. He commanded the meeting to disperse, but the members kept their places quietly. John Burnyeat being taken before the mayor, was asked, "why they acted contrary to the orders of government?" To which John replied, "We do nothing in contempt of government." But, said the mayor, "Why do you not obey then?"

*John.* Because it is a matter of conscience to us, and that which we believe to be our indispensable duty, to meet together to worship.

*Mayor.* You may be misled.

*John.* If we be misled, we are willing to be informed.

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## PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS. 109

Then it was urged that other dissenters had submitted, and why would not they? To which he answered, "What they do will be no plea for us before the judgment seat of God." After some further discourse, the mayor committed him to prison, to which, soon after, Anthony Sharp and Alexander Seaton were committed. After a month's imprisonment, application was made to the mayor for their release, who refused; but, in consequence of an application to the Earl of Arran, lord deputy, it was obtained, after an imprisonment of about two months.

## WEST INDIES.

BARBADOES and the adjacent islands of Nevis and Antigua, were the first of the American plantations which were visited by any Quakers from England, whose labours in the work of the ministry seem to have been attended with success, to the conviction of several of the inhabitants; but it is remarkable, that in every quarter of the world, wherever these doctrines spread, though calculated to promote virtue\*, peace, and due subordination in religious and civil society, persecution still followed.

In the island of Nevis, Humphrey Highwood (the first inhabitant who entertained the Quakers) having given a friendly reception to Peter Head, John Rouse, and Mary Fisher, was cited to appear before the governor, and charged with the breach of a law enjoining notice to be given to the governor of the arrival of all strangers within a limited time, which

\* See Robert Barclay's *Treatise on Universal Love*, republished in London, 1799.



Humphrey, through inadvertency, had suffered to elapse, for which undesigned omission he was committed to prison.

He had not as yet embraced their principles, but after some time, being convinced thereof, he suffered imprisonment: first, for declining his usual appearance in arms and service in the militia, and a second time, for appearing before the governor with his hat on; and was detained in prison till the next court, at which, as there was no law extant making such appearance criminal, he was set at liberty; but at that time they made a law, "That whosoever for the future should come into any court with his hat on, should pay a fine of five hundred pounds of sugar, or suffer a month's imprisonment."

Upon the arrival at Barbadoes of the King's proclamation in consequence of the insurrection of the Fifth-monarchy-men, there seems to have been a general imprisonment of the members of this society in that island, for declining the oath of allegiance.

They also suffered by frequent distresses for refusing to contribute to the maintenance of the priests by law established, and toward the charges of repairing the public-worship houses, which were enforced by penal laws, frequently executed with more than legal severity.

But they were exposed to the severest sufferings in person and property, for refusing to bear arms or work at the fortifications. The laws of the country requiring the personal service of the inhabitants, their servants, and horses, and enacting severe penalties in case of default; for their conscientious testimony in these respects, they were not only liable to severe fines and exorbitant distrains, frequently to double the value of the estimated fine, but to frequent imprisonments and corporal punishment.

Feeling their sufferings heavy and multiplied, they made repeated remonstrances to the successive governors and council for redress of their grievances; but here, as in England, instead of relief, heavier penal laws were often the result.

Soon after the yearly meeting in London, in 1671, several Friends took shipping from England, in order to visit the West Indies, and other parts of the British dominions in America; and after a passage of near two months, arrived safely in Barbadoes. In this voyage they were closely pursued by a Sallee man of war, and apparently in danger of being taken, but were providentially delivered; for when this ship was come up with them, it being by moonlight, a thick cloud intercepted the view; the moon set, and a fresh gale arising, carried them rapidly on their course, and they saw their enemy's ship no more\*.

The Friends who went over at this time, in company, were George Fox, Thomas Briggs, William Edmundson, John Rouse, John Stubbs, Solomon Eccles, James Lancaster, John Cartwright, Robert Widdlers, George Pattison, John Hull, Elizabeth Hooton, and Elizabeth Miers; and John Burnyeat the year before. George Fox, through indisposition, was so weak at his landing, that he was not of ability for some time to go much abroad; but his fellow labourers and companions of his voyage entered diligently upon the business, which had induced them to encounter the difficulties of a passage to these remote islands. Here their gospel labours were attended with success; the meetings were crowded, and many were convinced.

George Fox's concern pointing particularly to the promotion of that discipline amongst his friends in this island, which he had been employed in esta-

\* George Fox and William Edmundson's journals.

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blishing in other parts; and not being able yet to travel, the men and women assembled in their respective meetings, for the affairs of this society, at his lodging at Thomas Rous's, which furnished him with the opportunity of being present, where he found his assistance necessary, sundry disorders having crept in for want of vigilance. Besides the subjects of discipline usual in other places, he recommended to their especial care the case of the Negro slaves, advising to instruct them in Christianity; as well those they might purchase, as those who were born in their families; also that they should cause their overseers to treat them with humanity, and that after certain years of servitude, they should set them free. This advice being well accepted and observed, caused a general alarm to the inhabitants, who gave a handle to their adversaries to misrepresent their good intentions, and some time after occasioned them trouble.

After George Fox was able to go abroad, he, in company with his host, Thomas Rous, paid a visit to the governor, who received them with remarkable kindness; and a few days after, a general meeting being held at Bridgetown, the rumour of the visit to the governor, and the kind reception he met with, drew many officers, both civil and military, and others, not of the lowest ranks, from most parts of the island. Lewis Morris, who had been a colonel and a member of the council, having been before convinced, brought in company with him Ralph Fretwell, a judge in the island. The meeting, which was very large, was conducted to the satisfaction of the general part of the audience; and Ralph Fretwell, through the ministry of George Fox, was thoroughly convinced, and openly professed himself of this society. He was one of the chief judges of the Common Pleas in this island, had been regularly sworn into office, and executed it with

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able yet integrity; but after this his profession, his adversaries insisted upon his being sworn again, that they might take advantage of his religious scruple, and procured to be put to the vote in council. Many of the council disapproved of the motion, and upon putting the question, they were equally divided; but the governor having the casting vote, gave it against him.

After this meeting Thomas Briggs and William Edmundson proceeded to the islands of Antigua and Nevis. In the former they had large meetings, attended by many of the principal inhabitants, as well as numbers of other ranks. Many were convinced, and amongst the rest Colonel Winthorp, who had been governor, at whose house they afterwards had several large and satisfactory meetings.

When they had finished their service in Antigua, they set sail for Nevis; where, soon after they came anchor, a marshal was sent aboard by the governor with orders, "that none should come ashore until he knew whence the vessel came, and who were on board;" in consequence whereof they were detained on board; and the governor receiving intelligence of the passengers were, immediately sent an officer and guard, with command to suffer none of them to go on shore, nor any of the islanders to go on board to see or converse with them, upon the penalty of a large fine; but the officer and soldiers treated themselves kindly to them, and suffered several of their friends to come to visit them, and by the consent of the owner of the vessel, Colonel Winthorp, they held a meeting on board, to their mutual edification.

The governor sent for the master of the ship, who was no Quaker, and obliged him to enter into bond of 1000l. sterling, to carry them back to Antigua; where they were received with gladness by



by their friends, met with no molestation from the government, their meetings were resorted to by many of all ranks, and their testimony well received.

George Fox continued still exercised in his ministerial gift in Barbadoes, where he had many large and satisfactory meetings, both for worship and discipline, free from any interruption; the former of which many of other societies attended. At one of them Colonel Lyne, a sober man, was well satisfied with George Fox's testimony, that he expressed his satisfaction in these terms: "Now I can gainsay such as I have heard speak evil of you who say you do not own Christ, nor that he died, whereas I perceive you exalt Christ in all his offices beyond what I have ever heard before."

But as his labour was effectual to the conviction of several in most parts of the island, the priests and their partisans being much disturbed and alarmed, had recourse to their customary means of redress, in endeavours to instigate the magistrates to severity against him and his fellow labourers; but finding themselves frustrated in these endeavours they next exerted themselves to render them odious or suspected, by strenuously dispersing amongst the people the vulgar calumnies of the time, which had been repeatedly objected to them, and as often refuted.

From the endeavours used by George Fox to stir religious sentiments into this oppressed part of the species, their opponents took occasion to accuse them "of teaching the Negroes to rebel."

In their vindication against this charge they appeal to the Searcher of all hearts, that this was an abominable untruth, their principles and practice being utterly abhorrent of such an intention: that their addresses to these poor people had been directed to exhort them to be sober, to fear God, to love

# PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS. 173

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ir masters and mistresses, to be faithful and dili-  
 nt in their service ; that they cautioned them  
 inst a plurality of wives, against theft, drunken-  
 s, adultery, fornication, cursing, swearing, lying,  
 such vices as people of their station are too  
 ne to. They wish it to be considered, that it is  
 transgression for a master of a family to instruct  
 family himself, or for others to do it for him ;  
 an important and incumbent duty upon them to  
 y with and for their families, to instruct and ad-  
 ish every member thereof for their good.  
 his apology, it is presumed, had some weight  
 those to whom it was addressed ; as notwith-  
 ding these invidious misrepresentations, no se-  
 measures on this account seem to have been  
 ted till some years after. George Fox having  
 a three months in gospel labours in this island,  
 ing and confirming his friends, whose number  
 now increased by the conviction of others,  
 having settled the meetings to his satisfaction,  
 ehending himself clear of his service there, pre-  
 d for his departure ; having first communicated  
 prospects to his friends, he thought it expedient  
 quaint the governor and council with his in-  
 on, that, as his entrance into the island had  
 open and public, his departure might be so too.  
 om Barbadoes he passed over to Jamaica, in  
 any with Robert Widders, William Edmund-  
 Solomon Eccles, and Elizabeth Hooton, where  
 were treated with civility, both by the govern-  
 agistrates, and the people in general. Their  
 ings here were large and quiet, their ministerial  
 t conducive to the conviction of many, and  
 ght them some people of account.  
 out a week after their arrival, Elizabeth  
 on, being far advanced in years, departed this

She

She was a woman religiously inclined in an early stage of life, and one of the first who joined in religious fellowship with George Fox, before the name of *Quaker* was applied to him and his friends. In his early journeys, before he appeared as a public preacher, in 1647 he came into Nottinghamshire where he met with a number of such as he desired to visit; amongst them was Elizabeth Hooton, who was then convinced. In 1650 she received a call in the ministry, being reputed to be the first minister of her sex in this society. She travelled into many parts of the nation to call people to repentance for which she was one of the earliest sufferers among the members of this society. As early as 1651 she was imprisoned in Derby upon the complaint of a priest, to whom she had spoken by way of reproof; who, in resentment, applied to a justice and procured her imprisonment. In the next year 1652, she was imprisoned at York for delivering exhortation to the congregation at Rotherham, at the close of their public worship. In 1654 she was the like account imprisoned five months in Lincoln and in 1665 twelve weeks in the same place. In 1660, passing quietly along the road, she was met by one Jackson, priest of Selston in Nottinghamshire who struck her repeatedly, knocked her down, and afterward put her into the water; a conduct so ungraceful to his character as a teacher, a Christian, and a man. The barbarous usage she received in New England hath been already related. In all her afflictions, through divine support, she appeared to have been preserved in patience, and in a meek and quiet spirit; but steadfast and immovable in the truth in which she most surely believed. At last, in an advanced age, finished her life in a foreign land.

In 1675, William Edmundson went a long time from Ireland to Barbadoes, under a com-



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the meetings of his friends in that island, and  
other parts of the American plantations, where  
was gladly received, and had many favourable  
opportunities in the exercise of his ministry,  
amongst others, the meetings through most parts  
the island being large, many were convinced of  
truth, and the hearts of Friends enlarged in love  
receive his instructions both in doctrine and dis-  
cipline.

He had a meeting at the house of Tobias Fryar,  
an of substance, repute, and authority, in com-  
munion of the peace, whose wife was of the soci-  
ety; the meeting was crowded, and amongst the  
the priest of the parish, whose name was Ram-  
sey, attended it. After meeting, many of the au-  
thors expressed their satisfaction, only the priest  
seemed disturbed, yet made no public opposition  
to; but afterwards, at a meeting at Bridge-  
ford, to which he came attended by a company of  
people, he reviled Friends with abusive lan-  
guage, and challenged William Edmundson to a  
public disputation, in which he threatened to prove  
him in the wrong. This challenge being accepted, the  
four thereof drew together abundance of peo-  
ple of all ranks, by computation three thousand or  
more; the assembly was accommodated under  
the open sky without doors. The priest, instead of make-  
good his former charges, broke out in railing  
abuse, sometimes against particular Friends,  
sometimes against the society in general, advance-  
ing many invidious charges, but proving none;  
whereby he disgusted the judicious part of the au-  
dience, and furnished William Edmundson and his  
associates with an opportunity of explaining their  
principles to the general satisfaction of the people  
present.

Disappointed of his aim, but persevering in his  
design, this priest next applied to the governor, Sir  
Jonathan



Jonathan Atkins, with a complaint against William Edmundson, that he was a Jesuit from Ireland under the appearance of a Quaker, and pretending to make the negroes Christians, "would make the rebels, and would rise and cut their throats." The governor, upon this information, was determined to issue his warrant to apprehend William Edmundson, who, coming to the knowledge thereof, anticipated the execution by a voluntary visit to the governor.

The governor, when he found who his visitor was, fell into a passion, menaced him greatly, he would take a course with him, and sent him for the marshal; but before the marshal came, he entered into a conversation, in the course of which the governor acquainted William Edmundson with the information he had received, that under pretence of making the negroes Christians, he was teaching them to rebel and cut their throats. To which William replied, it was a good work to bring them to the knowledge of God and Christ Jesus, and to believe in him that died for them and for all men, which would keep them from rebelling or cutting any man's throat; but if they should rebel and cut their throats, as was said, it would not be in consequence of his doctrine, but of their treatment, in keeping them in ignorance and under oppression, in denying them liberty to be common with women, and brutes; and on the other hand starving them with want of food and raiment: thus allowing them liberty in that which God restrained, and restraining them in that which God allowed and afforded. After some time the governor grew very moderate.

The marshal coming, desired to know his pleasure. The governor told him, he had thought to have committed William Edmundson to prison, but his mind was altered; so ordering him to appear at the council next day, he dismissed him. Next

He appeared before the council, and his accuser, Ramsey, renewed his accusations of "heresy, blasphemy, and treason," alledging that he would prove his charge out of Edward Burrough's book. The book was brought, the priest turned it over and over, but could find nothing there to answer his purpose; whereupon he met with rebuke from the governor, and general displeasure from the council, for advancing such charges against a body of people without foundation. The priest fell on his knees to ask their forgiveness, and from that time the governor behaved with kindness during William's stay there. William Edmundson spent five months in this island, and concluded his labours amongst them by an epistle addressed to the governor, council, and all others in authority, in which, after a recital of the various immoralities, &c. he closely presses them to use the power in their hands to put a stop to the current of wickedness which had overrun the island, and cried for vengeance. He strenuously urges them to exert their authority for restraining and suppressing this licentiousness and offensive liberty among their negro slaves, and not only to break the bonds of iniquity, but to remove the yoke of oppression from off their necks; to moderate their labour, treat them with humanity, and allow them a comfortable sufficiency of food and raiment. Though the rulers to whom this epistle was addressed, convicted, doubtless, in their consciences that the state of their island gave occasion for the reprehensions contained therein, appear not to have expressed any immediate resentment against the author, who soon after took his departure for New England unmolested; yet in a short time after, instead of using their authority to suppress the vices demonstrated against, listening more to the suggestions of the adversaries, and to the dictates of their

own self-interest, prompting them to increase the number of their slaves, even by wicked means, they resolved to keep such troublesome monitors at a distance, to prevent the preaching of doctrines they disliked, and to render themselves secure in the continued practice of immoralities, they knew to be indefensible; for these purposes, about two months after, they passed an act to prevent the Quakers from bringing negroes to their meetings, &c.

By this act several were great sufferers; but the attempt made on Ralph Fretwell and Richard Sutton, exceeded all bounds, the former being prosecuted by one Thomas Cobham, for 800l. for eight negroes, and the latter for thirty negroes being present at a meeting; but the defendants in this cause made their defence so well, that notwithstanding the act, the jury acquitted them.

In 1678, this act was extended to include the inhabitants of the island, under the penalty before enacted, for preaching at any of the meetings of the Quakers, whereby all preaching in the public assemblies of the said people was prohibited under the severe penalties of fines and imprisonment.

## NEW JERSEY.

THIS country, as well as Virginia, being settled many years previous to the grant made to William Penn, some Quakers had migrated to both these colonies, some time before Pennsylvania was inhabited by any Europeans\*. Previous to 1665, when it first fell under the government of England, some of this people had removed to settle at Middletown and other places in East Jersey. And in that year

\* Samuel Smith.

crease the means, they sent missionaries at sea. In 1677 others followed, and settled at Burlington and Gloucester. After these a succession of new settlers increased the number of this people; so that in the Jerseys, as well as in Virginia, Maryland, and New England, there were many settlements of them before William Penn obtained his grant of Pennsylvania.

In 1665 John Burnyeat, after his service in Barbadoes was finished, took shipping for these parts of America, and landed in Maryland in the second month, and spent the summer in travelling, in the exercise of his ministry. The meetings were large and much favoured; Friends were greatly comforted, and several others convinced. But in this place Friends met with great trouble from one Thomas Thurston, and a party which he drew for a while after him. This man gave great disturbance to their meetings. John Burnyeat, to rescue the simple from the snare of his insinuations, and to restore peace and order, took much pains, in concert with faithful Friends of the province, to detect the man's conduct, by searching out matters of fact, and to convince the understandings of his followers of the error of his principles; and through divine assistance they were so successful, that by their endeavours most of the people came to see his errors, to forsake him, and to return into unity with their friends. But Thurston lost himself as to religion, and declined in his outward circumstances.

John Burnyeat having spent the summer in settling his Friends in peace, and in a good degree restoring order amongst them, departed from Maryland to Virginia, and found sufficient employment there a considerable part of the succeeding winter. Here, as well as in Barbadoes, he found many



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of the professors of truth, even the greater part of them, led away by the fanciful opinions of John Perrot, who carried his erroneous and extravagant notion of being got above forms, much farther than he had done in England; so that when John Burnyeat came thither he found it difficult to get a meeting amongst them. When he saw their reluctance to give him a public meeting, he sought private opportunities of treating with them, to convince them of their mistakes, to vindicate the principles of the society, the consistency of its testimonies, and rectitude of practice proceeding therefrom, both in their diligent meeting to worship, walking in all orderly conversation, sobriety and temperance, and fulfilling their social and moral duties to mankind. By patient continuance in repeated conferences of this kind he at length obtained a meeting with them, which seems to have been conducive to open the understandings of several to see their error more clearly, and to the revival of more regard to their religious duties; and by the continuance of his gospel labours, and the renewed convictions of the spirit of truth in their own hearts, many came in time to be again serviceable members of religious societies.

He afterwards travelled into New England, Long Island, and Rhode Island; and about the latter end of 1st month, 1667, took shipping for Barbadoes, where he spent some time, had many large meetings to edification, wherein several were convinced; and when his service was finished there, he returned to England.

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## C H A P. V.

### VISITS TO AMERICA CONTINUED.

SOON after the yearly meeting in London in 1670, John Burnyeat, in company with William Simpson, took shipping a second time for the American plantations; and after a passage of 12 weeks, landed at Barbadoes, where William Simpson, an innocent humble man, who like the rest of his brethren had suffered much persecution, was taken off by a fever, which was a near trial to his companion, they having walked together in near unity and brotherly affection) to be left alone in a foreign land, under the discouraging prospect of many difficulties, and the discouraging prospect of many difficulties, considering the state of the church in that island; but he writes, the Lord was with him, and by his power assisted him to discharge his duty fully, so that he left that island in peace.

From Barbadoes he took shipping for New-York, where he arrived in about four weeks; from thence he travelled through Long Island, Rhode Island, and sundry other parts of New England, and in his return came to Middletown in East Jersey, where he had meetings among Friends settled there; and from thence he returned to Oyster-bay in Long Island, to the half-year's meeting, which began about the 8th day of the 8th month. It appears to have been held to general edification and comfort, though the meetings for worship. After them the meeting for discipline, which was gathered in much sweetness and harmony, was disturbed by some disorderly professors, who had imbibed a prejudice against discipline, and enmity against those Friends who were zealous for the establishment thereof. The spirit



of opposition, which had given Friends in England much trouble, had spread to these remote regions; and notwithstanding the pretexts with which the dissent was covered, it appears to me to have originated in unstable minds, from a desire of taking liberties inconsistent with the profession of godliness in some, and of evading the sufferings to which the society was at this time exposed; and as the prosecutions at home had driven many other dissenters to seek an asylum in this quarter of the globe, so it is not improbable but some of those who had been infected with John Perrot's notions, had from the like motive removed, and disseminated their principles here. They directed their efforts as they had done in England, principally against George Fox and his epistles of salutary advice, against which they had drawn up a book in manuscript, which they demanded to have read in the meeting. They were told the epistles and papers were there, and they might make their objections, which Friends would endeavour to answer; but this proposal not satisfying them, and persisting in their purpose of reading their book, the meeting gave way, and sat in silent attention till they had gone through it, and then John Burnyeat recapitulating the principal parts thereof, vindicated George Fox and his friends. He gave great satisfaction to Friends in general, and brought them to a perception of the mistaken notions they had led into their minds, through the insinuations of one George Dennis and two others, who were chiefly concerned in writing the book. After this seasonable interposition for the information and reconciliation of Friends, the meeting was conducted and concluded to mutual satisfaction. After the meetings were over, John Burnyeat proceeded in his travels to New-York, from whence he embarked for Maryland, being accompanied by Daniel Gould from Rhode Island. From Maryland they proceeded

ed to Virginia, where John had the consolation to observe the good effects of his former service in that province, finding Friends in general revived into a good degree of religious care in their conduct.

In order to confirm them, and for the help of those who were not yet recovered from the effect of John Perrot's infection, he proposed to them the establishing of a men's meeting of discipline, to promote good order amongst them, that might be instrumental to the bringing back those, who were yet scattered, to the unity of the body, to exhort the careless and lukewarm professors to religious thoughtfulness, and to exert their endeavours to preserve the reputation of the society unblemished.

Then recommending them to God and the word of his grace, he took boat again for Maryland, where, after a troublesome passage, he arrived safely; after some time spent amongst them, he appointed a general meeting at West River for the Friends in the province, that he might see them together before he departed, proposing to take his leave of them, and proceed on his way to return for England. To this meeting came George Fox, William Edmundson, and other Friends, whom he had left behind in the West Indies.

These Friends sailed from Jamaica for Maryland, and after a tedious and difficult passage, especially in passing through the Gulph of Florida, in something more than six weeks they reached the mouth of Potomac river in the bay of Chesapeake, where another storm arising, a boat near them, with several passengers on board, being in distress, the ship, which they were in, took in the passengers just before the boat was lost. These faithful ministers took an opportunity to hold a religious meeting with the new passengers to mutual satisfaction. Their provisions growing short, through the tediousness of the passage

sage, and having an additional number to feed, their scanty store was soon consumed. In this exigency George Pattison, at the hazard of his life, took boat and providentially got safe ashore; and soon after some Friends residing in that part of Maryland came aboard, and brought the rest safe to land also, very opportunely, their provisions being quite spent.

Soon after their landing, they went directly to the general meeting at West River, which was very large, being attended by Friends, and numbers of other societies, and several of the principal ranks among them. After the public meetings were over the men and women's meetings for discipline succeeded, in which George Fox explained the usefulness and benefit, the end and the manner of holding these meetings. After four days spent in these meetings, the travellers went together to another general meeting appointed at the Cliffs, which was also large, and the people attended reverently to the doctrines delivered there. They had also a general meeting for discipline, at which the several particular meetings of discipline were established; and most of those who had apostatized with Thurston returned into unity with Friends.

After these two general meetings the Friends from Europe parted company. James Lancaster and John Cartwright went by sea to New England; George Fox, John Burnyeat, Robert Widders, and George Pattison toward Jersey, and William Edmundson for Virginia. Here William, as John Burnyeat had done before him, found sundry disorders yet unremoved. He had several edifying meetings among them whereby having cultivated a friendly disposition in their minds, he appointed a men's meeting, for discipline among them, after the model of that established in England and Ireland. From hence he travelled to Carolina, through a desolate uninhabited wilderness

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wilderness; he and his guides passed two nights in the woods, in the latter of which he could not lie down, it rained so violently, the ground wet, and himself wet to the skin, so that he passed the night partly under a tree for shelter, and partly walking between the trees; added to this incommodious circumstance, his guide was uncertain about the way; but William, having the day before advanced farther in the woods than his guides, who were tired and faint, had discovered a path, to which he leading the way, it took them to Henry Phillips's house by Albemarle river, the place of their designation.

His host and hostess, who had been convinced in New England, and removed their residence thither, received him and his company with gladness, not having seen the face of a Friend for many years. It was first day morning, but William being weary with fasting and travelling, found it requisite to take some rest, he therefore appointed a meeting about the middle of the day, to which many came, but as it was too much the case in those desert countries, they seemed to have little sense of religion amongst them, for they sat down in the meeting smoking tobacco; notwithstanding which, William's testimony, in the authority of the gospel, had that reach upon them, that they were affected with great seriousness, desired him to stay with them, and favour them with more meetings.

At this meeting, one Tems, a justice of peace, and his wife, being convinced, desired to have the next meeting at their house, which was accordingly held, and was conducive to the conviction and edification of several of the auditory.

Having appointed a men's meeting in Virginia, he was under a necessity of returning thither from his second meeting in Carolina. After a journey of great pain, through sickness contracted by hard-



ships in the wilderness, he reached the men's meeting, where Friends readily consented to the establishment of discipline, and desired to have another meeting of the same kind appointed before he left the country; to which agreeing, (and in the intermediate time visiting sundry places and meetings to satisfaction) he attended the said men's meeting; previous to which a meeting for worship being held, it was attended by several persons of condition, as Justice Taverner and his wife, who was one of the society, Major-general Bennet, Colonel Teve and others. This meeting proved to general edification. When this meeting was ended, the members of the society withdrew, into a large upper room, to the men's meeting, to confer upon and settle the affairs of the church. Justice Taverner's wife, who was of the society, informing William that the Major-general, Colonel Teve, and others below, were desirous to speak with him, he went down; they told him they only wanted to take leave of him, and acknowledge the truth of his doctrine; whereupon apologizing for Friends withdrawing, he told them the reason was, "to lay down a method for providing for their poor widows and fatherless children; to take care that no disorders were committed in the society, and that all lived orderly, according to what they professed." That in England and in other places Friends had such meetings appointed. The Major said he was glad there was such care and order amongst Friends, and wished it had been so amongst others.

From Virginia he returned through Maryland to New-York. He was desirous of a religious meeting with the inhabitants of this town, where no meeting of Friends had ever been held; and the owner of the inn where he lodged being willing to accommodate him with a large room, the meeting was accordingly held, largely attended, and amongst others by some of

## PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS. 129

the chief officers, magistrates and principal inhabitants. They were very attentive to the doctrine he delivered, and affected thereby, which appeared in their affectionate demeanour to him after the meeting was over. From thence he went to Long Island and Shelter Island; where he met with George Fox and his companions on their way from New England to Virginia.

After separating in Maryland to their respective services, viz. George Fox and his companions, went by boat to the eastern shore, and had a large meeting there, to which, besides many persons of quality of the country, came some Indians, and one of their kings. They seemed very attentive to his doctrine, and owned it to be truth. Then he desired that what he had spoken to them, they would speak to their people.

From hence they took their journey by land for New England, which at that time was an undertaking of great peril, most of the intermediate country being a dreary uninhabited wilderness, intersected by large and deep rivers, some of which they headed, others they passed in canoes, swimming their horses by the sides; sometimes they were under a difficulty to procure Indian guides, and the Dutchman whom they had hired was not willing to undertake the guidance without an Indian; they lodged some nights in the woods, and some in the Indian wigwams. In some whole days journeys they saw no human creature besides their own company, not a house or dwelling-place in the way. One night, reaching an Indian town, they lodged at the king's house or wigwam, who entertained them with kindness, and his attendants were assiduously respectful to them; they fared and lodged as well as himself, provisions were scantily afforded them, not for want of hospitality, but because he had been unsuccessful in the chase that day. They lay on mats

on the ground, with blocks of wood for their pillows. In nine days they reached Middletown in East Jersey, where was a plantation of English, and amongst them some Quakers. After a short stay at the house of Richard Hartshorn, a man of an hospitable, benevolent character, who had lately removed from London, they were by him carried over in his boat to Long Island, whither they were hastening to the half year's meeting, to be held at Oyster Bay for that island and the province of New-York. The half year's meeting began the fourth day after their arrival.

As opposition was expected from those contentious spirits, who had disturbed the last half year's meeting there, George Fox did not think it proper that the service of the men and women's meetings should be interrupted by their cavils; but let them know, that if they had any objection to make to the discipline of the society, a meeting should be appointed for the purpose: the fourth day was therefore set apart for this business, open to as many of the opponents as chose to attend it, and to Friends likewise: but those of the prejudiced party, who had been so free in their reflections upon George Fox when remote from them, began now to fawn upon him, and cast the blame upon others, even George Dennis endeavoured to exculpate himself so that all attempts to disturb the peace of the society were entirely frustrated.

After some little time spent in Long Island, the European Friends took shipping for Rhode Island to attend the yearly meeting to be held there for the province of New England, where they met with John Stubbs, just arrived from Barbadoes, and James Lancaster and John Cartwright from New England, with a number of Friends from different parts of the province. This yearly meeting was continued by adjournments for six days successively

for their pil- the first four were employed in public meetings of  
diddlestown in worship, to which the governor and several justices  
English, and giving daily attendance, their countenance drew a-  
a short stay a bundance of people from all parts of the island,  
of an hospita amongst whom these Friends found an open recep-  
tely removed tion for their ministry: for this large auditory be-  
ed over in his haved in a manner becoming the solemnity of the  
ere hastening occasion.

t Oyster Bay During their stay on the island, a marriage was  
w-York. The solemnized at the house of a Friend who had for-  
ay after the merly been governor thereof. Some justices and  
many others, as well as Friends, attended, who all  
confessed their approbation of the orderly manner  
in which the marriage was solemnized.

George Fox and Robert Widders staid yet longer  
in the island; but John Burnyeat, John Cartwright  
and George Pattison, went to the eastern parts  
of New England, in company with the Friends  
from thence. Their first meetings were at Marsh-  
field, Sandwich, and afterwards at Scituate, where,  
as John Burnyeat was in the exercise of his minis-  
try, some of the elders of the independent church  
came to the meeting, which was held in an orchard,  
and made opposition to him; but the people being  
displeased at the interruption, desired them to be  
still till the Friend had done, upon which they went  
away to their own worship, and after it was over re-  
turned to hold a disputation with these Friends, in  
which directing their endeavours to make the Qua-

ers appear in the eyes of the auditory as a people  
under delusion, John Burnyeat proposed to them,  
that since they represented him and his Friends as  
hereticks, and their own church as a true church,  
that they should try both by the criterion laid down  
by Christ himself, that is, by fruits. These elders  
could not relish this kind of argument; having some  
of them, as he was informed, been themselves ac-



tive in persecution, and therefore put an end to this discourse by withdrawing.

The violence of persecution was by this time abated in this province, (the persecuting magistrates being mostly dead) yet not wholly abolished; some of their preachers and others of the old stamp still remaining, used their endeavours to keep the spirit thereof alive. The next day these Friends went to Boston, where many people came into the meeting, and while John Burnyeat was speaking to them, the marshal and a constable came in. The marshal bidding the constable, who was a moderate man, to execute his office, he replied, "so he did, he was to see the king's peace kept." He stood a while to hear, went away, and told the deputy governor he had been at the meeting, and heard nothing like blasphemy, but solid and important truths, or to that effect. The people staid and furnished him with a fair opportunity to preach the gospel to their edification, and to vindicate the society from calumny. The people departed greatly satisfied, which when Thatcher, one of the Boston preachers, understood the succeeding first day, in his sermon, excited the magistrates present against the Quakers, who immediately sent to take Friends from their meeting, and committed several of them to prison. James Lancaster and John Stubbs, who came there the week after, were banished out of the colony by R. Beltingham, governor, who had been deputy under J. Endicott, and a party with him, in all the inhuman severity of his government; but his power of punishing was near its termination, for soon after this he went distracted, and in that state departed this life the 7th of December, 1672.

These Friends from Europe continued their travels for some time longer on this continent, edifying their Friends by their ministry, settling meetings of discipline for preserving and promoting  
circumsp

end to this circumspect conversation, brotherly affection and cordial unity amongst them. To avoid the tediousness of repeating similar circumstances, I forbear tracing their respective movements in their further services, restricting myself to the more notable passages to be met with in their progress.

John Burnyeat and his companions continued their journey to Salem, and here met with some more of those who had been perverted by John Perrot's notions, amongst whom John Burnyeat and his Friends exercised much labour to convince them of their error; but observing their disinclination to comply with the advice of their Friends, he represented to them with sorrow, that while they continued in the spirit they were in, they could not act in the church in the unity of the body, to the honour of the holy head, or the edification of the members thereof, till they saw their error and condemned it. On saying, he left them. However, this remonstrance had such effect, that several saw their mistake, condemned it, and united with the body of Friends.

From hence they journeyed on to Providence and Rhode Island; at the former place they met with a company of Ranters, who went generally under the name of Gortonians\*, but called themselves Generalists. These people gave them some trouble, and a greater degree of disgust by their immoral principles.

At Rhode Island they met with George Fox and his companions going westward, in whose company George Pattison joined. They also here received

\* This name was given them from their leader, Samuel Gorton, who is represented by Neale, in his History of New England, "as a most impudent enthusiast, who had no settled notions of religion, having disowned the principles of the Puritans, and embraced no other that he knew of; that he was not only unprincipled in religion, but of turbulent behaviour in every place where he resided."

a challenge from Roger Williams of Providence, with fourteen propositions, which he engaged to maintain against any of the Quakers from England, proposing a discussion of the first seven in Rhode Island. The challenge was accepted, the meetings held for three days, and terminated in a clear conviction of the envy and prejudice of the old man whose propositions (as he called them) were a collection of general accusations, which he could not make good, but which were plainly disproved.

The Friends, whom William Edmundson had joined, had afterwards a religious meeting with the people, who, at the conclusion, departed well satisfied and kindly affectioned to them. Soon after William Edmundson proceeded to Boston, and embarked for Ireland.

After William Edmundson had taken his passage to Ireland, John Burnyeat and John Stubbs continued their journey through New England. They came into the government of Massachusetts, and when they appointed meetings, the officers would come and prohibit them, and so terrify the people with menaces of bringing them under the penalties of their ecclesiastical laws, that few or none durst come near them; when they remonstrated to the officers and elders, they would not stay to hear them, but would only exclaim against their religion and call them as hereticks, although at the same time confessing they knew not what their principles were. At other times the elders would come to dispute with them, on purpose, by their presence, to awe the younger people from coming to hear their doctrine. But since they could get no public opportunity of hearing them, several of these resorted to their chamber at the inn, to whom the Friends explained their principles, proving them by the scriptures, where these young people were well satisfied; but when the elders discovered this private opportunity, they

Providence, sent a constable to command all to depart, which they declining, the innkeeper, who was an elder, took away the candle, which much displeased the young people.

When they came to Greenwich, they met with some Friends, and appointed a meeting there. The priest of this town had frequently made the supposed errors of this society the topick of his invectives in the pulpit, and boasted how he would dispute with the Quakers, if any should come thither; which occasioned a great concourse to the meeting, in expectation of the priest making good his vaunt; but he thought best to cut disputation short, by mounting his horse early in the morning and riding to Stamford, about two miles, to complain to a magistrate, who sent a constable with a warrant to apprehend the said two Friends; they coming at the beginning of the meeting, took them before the magistrate; many of the people followed, and Friends also, to see the result. They were called into an inner room to the magistrate, he being indisposed, two priests, the constable, and one other present.

This magistrate asked them several questions, to which they returned suitable answers; they had much discourse, with which he appeared well satisfied; but upon one of the priests' putting a question, John Burnyeat remarked, that if they were disposed to discourse on religious subjects, a more public place would be best adapted to that purpose, the people were without and desirous to hear; which proposal the magistrate seconded, saying, Mr. Jones and Mr. Bishop, I desire you to go to the publick meeting-house, and discourse with these men before the people, for they are sober rational men." Upon which they retired, went to the meeting-house, and spent several hours in conference upon the wages and call of gospel ministers, election, and reprobation, &c.; wherein the priests, in contradiction



contradiction to plain scripture testimony, alledged that the Grace of God had not appeared to all men. The next day they had another meeting at Greenwich, to which the priest came and entered into fresh debate, but failed of his principal aim, for the magistrate would not imprison them, but suffered them to proceed on their travels without further molestation.

In the mean time George Fox, Robert Withers &c. passed to Providence and Narraganset, and thence to Long Island, Shelter Island, and thence to Shrewsbury in East Jersey. Here they met with an incident, which it may not be improper to recite for the service it may be of in the like case\*. They had in their company one John Jay, a planter in Barbadoes, who intended to accompany them through the woods to Maryland, and mounting a horse, to try him, being ill broken, it immediately ran away and threw him on his head, and they believed his neck was broken. Those who were near him took him up as dead, and carried him and laid him on a tree. George Fox got up to him as soon as possible and concluded he was dead. As he stood commiserating him and his family, he took hold of his hair and found that his head turned any way. He then took his head in both hands, and putting one under his chin, and the other behind his head, he raised it two or three times with all his strength, and brought it into its place, whereby his neck recovered its usual stiffness. He began first to rattle in the throat and then to breathe, to the amazement of all present. Being taken into the house, and put into a warm bed, he recovered so well (though he had no recollection of what had befallen him) that he continued his journey with them next day to Middletown, and several hundred miles afterwards.

\* George Fox, p. 446.

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From hence they took their journey to Maryland through the woods, having hired Indian guides. In this journey they met with equal difficulties with those they had before experienced, in the wilderness journey from Virginia to New England. Through numerous difficulties they reached New-  
ble in five days, where George Fox was hospi-  
ly entertained by the governor, and held a meet-  
at his house the next day, most of the town  
ending it, as there had never been any meeting  
that kind in this town or its vicinity before. It  
is refreshing to the travellers, and satisfactory to  
people, who in tenderness confessed to the truth  
the doctrines published among them.

From hence, by very hard travelling through the  
inconvenient ways, they got to Robert Har-  
od's, at Myles River, in Maryland, in three days  
re. In this province they had several meetings  
profit, both amongst the inhabitants, attended by  
ny of the first rank, and also amongst the Indi-  
to whom George Fox spoke by an interpreter.  
ey were seriously attentive to his doctrine, and  
covered an affectionate respect to him.

When they had finished their service in Mary-  
d, they went to Virginia by water, and from  
nce by land to Carolina, through a wilderness  
ounding with bogs and swamps; and at night were  
ged to lodge by a fire in the woods. They had  
etings in most habitable places, as they passed  
ng, in all expressed their satisfaction in the ex-  
tencing peace as the reward of their labours and  
els, and in observing the beneficial effects there-  
on the auditory, by bringing them to religious  
ughtfulness.

Nor did they confine their labours within the pre-  
ets of the English government; the principle of  
iversal love, which they professed, incited them  
travel and labour among the Indians in the back  
parts

parts of Carolina, as they had done in other provinces, endeavouring, by the help of interpreters, to suit their doctrine to the comprehensions of the people; by whom also their christian labours were well received, and they would own, they understood what was spoken, and that it was very good.

From Carolina they returned back through Virginia to Maryland, and after spending some time in that province, till the general provincial meeting which held four days, they took their leave of Friends in those parts, and embarked at Potuxant for Britain on their way home.

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## CHAP. VI.

THE TIME OF THE INDIAN WAR IN NEW ENGLAND,

**W**ILLIAM EDMUNDSON, after visiting Barbadoes a second time in 1675, sailed from thence for New England, and landed in Rhode Island. This was in the height of the New England war with the Indians, under the command of Philip king of the Wampanoags, which made travelling very dangerous. He staid some months with Friends in Rhode Island, which was not molested by the Indians, for the governor being a Quaker, the inhabitants had taken no part in the war,

William Edmundson thought it his duty to travel eastward to Piscataway, to visit Friends in that distressed, on account of the war. This was by all esteemed a perilous undertaking, yet under persuasion of duty, and trust in divine protection, he had courage to undertake the journey: one Friend

ed to go with him as a guide through the woods  
Sandwich, where they arrived in safety. Friends  
re greatly rejoiced at his brotherly visit in this  
encouraging season, and he also was favoured with  
consolation of inward peace in the discharge of  
y; he had two meetings with them, to their mu-  
refreshment and comfort.

From thence he travelled to Seffenase, Boston,  
em, and Piscataway river and Great Island, to  
Nicholas Shapley's, a Friend of note in the coun-  
and from thence over the river, visiting Friends  
he travelled, and had several satisfactory pub-  
meetings, both amongst Friends, and in places  
ere none had been held before; many people re-  
ed to them, and several were convinced.

At this time there was a cessation of arms on the  
r Piscataway; and one evening while William  
mundson rested at Nicholas Shapley's, fourteen  
ans came into his house; their heads trimmed  
faces painted for war, gave them a terrible ap-  
pearance. As some of them could speak broken  
lish, William Edmundson endeavoured to enter  
conversation with them, but from the morose-  
of their carriage, he conceived they were me-  
sing hostile measures; however they went off in  
night without offering any injury. In the morn-  
his host acquainted him that he had intelligence  
the Indians were designing to make a new in-  
on, which proved true, for soon after accounts  
of their having murdered seventy white peo-  
but William did not hear of any Friend being  
the number.

earing of a religious body of people at Reading,  
elt a draft of duty to pay them a visit, and in  
pany with five or six Friends more went thither,  
ancient man's house, whose name was Gould,  
his house a garrison; for at that time, most peo-  
except Quakers, were in garrison, for fear of  
the



the incursions of the Indians. When they came to the house, the gates were locked; but, upon their calling, they were presently opened, and when they entered they found several assembled for the exercise of religious worship, to which their coming in seemed to give some interruption, William Edmundson informed them, that they came not to disturb them, for he loved religion, and was seeking religious people; upon which the master of the house desired him to sit down, and took the next seat for himself.

As William sat amongst them, he felt his heart warmed towards them in the love of the gospel, and told them he had something in his heart to declare amongst them, if they would give him leave. The master of the house bade him speak; after he finished his testimony, he concluded the meeting in prayer.

At the conclusion, the master of the house, who was so affected, that he rose up, took William in his arms, owned what he had spoken to be sound doctrine, and thanked God that he could understand and adding, that he had heard, that the "people called Quakers denied the scriptures, and denied Christ that died for them," which he understood to be the cause of the difference between their ministers and the said people; but that this day had convinced him of the falsity of the charge, as he had witnessed that they owned both Christ and the scriptures. Although the depredation of war had made provisions scarce in these parts, he would not part with them until they had dined with him. Then the Friends leaving these people impressed with religious desires for themselves and affectionate regard to their visitors, the old man embraced William again, saying, he doubted his ever seeing him any more.

He had several meetings at Boston and parts adjacent, where he met with considerable exercise, by means of some persons, who, professing themselves Quakers, were

Quakers, but professing. Being at the Rhode Island Wharfe, he ended with much rage the islanders killing the inhabitants, but a number of violence issued. During the Indian war, the party from the island were much provoked, and shaped the five days fast, and employed his Friends. All of the people shaped the with it, and Strawberry's evidence, at ten days meetings, and sickness, by walking conversation felt divine from here. Being James, contrary winds being de a meeting

they came Quakers, but did not live up to the principles of their profession.

Being at length clear of those parts, he passed over to Rhode Island in a bark belonging to Edward Wharton of Salem. Here he found Friends hindered with difficulties, by reason of the wars, which raged in many places in that quarter, out of the island. The Indians plundering, burning, and killing as they went along; which made the inhabitants, who were not of the society, eager to join; but the governor, Walter Clark, being a member of the Friends Society, could not in conscience issue commissions for killing men.

During his stay at Rhode Island, the heat of the Indian war abated, King Philip being killed, and his party subdued; but almost immediately after, the island was visited by an epidemical distemper, which proved so mortal, that few families therein escaped the loss of some of their number in two or three days sickness. William Edmundson was diligently employed at this time in visiting the families of his Friends, (of whom many died) although the smell of the sickness was loathsome, and but few escaped the infection; after some time he was seized with it, and obliged to take to his bed at Walter Swberry's at Newport; but, through the favour of Providence, he was restored to health, so that in ten days time he was able to appear at public meetings, and although he was weak, not only by sickness, but the trouble he met with, by disorderly walkers, who took undue liberties in their conversation here, as well as in New England, yet he felt divine support bearing him up over all.

From hence he took shipping for New-York, taking James Fletcher for his companion; but by contrary winds was driven back to New London, being detained some days, they endeavoured to hold a meeting there; but the inhabitants being rigid independents

independents or presbyterians, and filled with prejudice, would not suffer one to be held amongst them.

About five miles from hence dwelt a company of Baptists, called Seventh-day Baptists, because they kept the seventh day of the week for their sabbath and bearing the character of a sober conscientious people, William Edmundson felt his mind drawn to pay them a visit, and accordingly went thither, accompanied by James Fletcher, and a friendly Englishman, who resided near New London. On the seventh day of the week, when they came thither, they found them assembled in silence; when they went in, these people seemed to be disturbed. William gently informed them, that he and his companions had not come to disturb their meeting, but hearing that their sentiments in religion were different from those of the generality of the people in that country, they were come to visit them, and they had a religion that was good, to share with them. The master of the house then invited them to sit down; they sat some time in silence, which furnished him with a favourable opportunity to open to them the way of life and salvation, concluding in fervent prayer; and then took leave of them under the mutual impressions of good will and affection.

The next day, being first-day, they appointed a meeting near New London, at the house of a person, who had accompanied them in their last visit, to which several Baptists and other sober people came; the meeting was very solidly gathered and like to be a favoured and profitable opportunity; but the old persecuting spirit, still prevailing among the bigotted professors in this quarter, interrupted their solemnity; for a constable and other officers came with armed men, and broke up the meeting, greatly abusing the Friends, which much offended the sober people present.

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Soon after William Edmundson went aboard the ship, in order to pass over to New York, he felt a weighty concern on his mind to go to New Hartford, in Connecticut colony, which lay about fifty miles up the country, through a great wilderness, very dangerous to travel in: the Indians, yet in arms, haunting those parts, and killing many of the English; so that it seemed discouraging for him, a stranger in the country, to encounter a journey attended with so much danger. He therefore kept his concern thus far to himself, in hopes that he might be excused in this time of jeopardy. That evening he went on board again, and the vessel set sail, the wind being pretty fair; but soon turned right against them, and blew a storm, which obliged them to put into harbour, where they lay some days. Being still unable to get from under his concern towards Hartford, apprehended himself, by his backwardness to obey the pointings of duty, to be the cause of the destruction of the vessel; and therefore acquainting the company with his concern, he took his leave of them, signifying he must go in submission to the divine will, whether he should live or die.

Then preparing for his journey, and his companion resolving not to desert him, they went ashore, purchased horses, and next morning set out without a guide: they travelled through the wilderness, for the greatest part of the day, and reached an inn about ten miles from the town: here he left his companion and the horses, and walked early next morning (being the first day of the week) to the town: he came to one meeting house, and when the priest had preached, spoke to the people what was on his mind; they heard with attention; and when he had done he parted. In the afternoon he went to the other meeting-house; when he came thither, the priest and people were gathered, having a guard of soldiers, in fear of the Indians coming upon them, while they



they were at worship. William went in, and declared the way of salvation amongst them; but after some time, at the instance of the priest, the officers haled him out rudely, and took him to the guard upon a hill.

It was a piercing cold day; the officer who had him in charge, complaining thereof, asked him "how he could bear the cold?" for that he was very cold. William replied, "that it was the entertainment which their great professors in New England afforded to a stranger, and yet they professed the scriptures to be their rule, which command to entertain strangers." The officer seemed to be troubled, and endeavoured to excuse the magistrates. Then he took him to an inn, and immediately the room was filled with professors, with whom he had much discourse, as one company went way another came. At length a preacher among the Baptists, esteeming it as a great error to maintain, that every man had a measure of the spirit of Christ; wanted to know if William held the same error. William told him, it was no error, for the scriptures testified it in many parts. The Baptist denied that the world had received a measure of the spirit; but that believers had received it. And as William brought one scripture after another in confirmation of the universality of the manifestation of the spirit, he still restricted it to *every one* of the believers, alledging that was the ground of their error, in applying that to *every man* which properly belonged to believers. William then recollected the promise of our Saviour, "that he would send the comforter, the spirit of truth, that should convince the world of sin, and should guide his disciples into all truth." On which he argued thus; therefore thou must grant that all have received it; or else prove from scripture that there is a select number of believers, and besides them a world of believers that have the spirit; and another

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VOL. II.

another world of unbelievers that have no measure of the spirit to convince them of sin. This put him to a nonplus, and many sober persons, who staid to see the issue, gave it against him, saying, "Indeed, Mr. Rogers, the man is in the right, for you must bring the proof which he hath demanded, or grant his argument." Then the people departed well satisfied.

As they lodged that night at the same inn, William took the opportunity of a friendly conference with this man, and found he had been an Independent, but was now a pastor of those seventh-day people, to whom William had lately paid a religious visit.

In the morning William Edmundson sent to the officer who had him in charge the day before, to know whether he had any further business with him, who sent him back word that he might go when and whither he pleased; upon which he returned to the place, where he had left his horse and his companion.

From hence they went to Long Island, where they were gladly received by Friends; but were much disturbed by a set of ranters, who had arisen in these parts, and made it a practice to come into Friends meetings, singing and dancing in a frantick manner. Notwithstanding which they had several large and comfortable meetings; many of these ranters being present in some of them, were brought to a sense of their errors, and condemned themselves for their incontinent conduct.

Proceeding to East Jersey, they had meetings at Newbury, and at Richard Hartshorn's, large and satisfying. In this last they were disturbed again with those deluded people, particularly by one Edward Tarff, who came into the meeting with his face blackened, saying, it was his justification and sanctification; he sung and danced after their wild manner,

manner, and coming up to William Edmundson called him "old rotten priest." William reproved him, and he went away daunted; then William stood up, and in the power of the gospel, spoke to the meeting; the people were affected with tenderness, and Friends strengthened and edified together.

From East Jersey they took their journey through the wilderness towards Maryland, with an Indian for their guide, who lost his way and left them in the woods, where they lodged that night; and, next morning being entirely at a loss to find their way in the wilderness, to which they were strangers, Richard Hartshorn, who, with Eliakim Wardel had accompanied them thus far, proposed their turning back to Rariton river, which they had left about ten miles behind them. This plan succeeded; by travelling all that day, and taking up another night lodging in the woods, they reached the falls next morning, where they found an Indian man and woman with a canoe, whom they hired to set them over the river. They proceeded to Uplands (since called Chester) and to Delaware town, which at that time was under the New York government; for Pennsylvania was a name as yet unknown. At Delaware town they were under difficulty to get entertainment amongst the Dutch and Swedes, who inhabited it, until William Edmundson applied to the deputy governor, informing him that they were travellers and had money to pay for what they called for. The governor received them with courteousness, and went with them to an ordinary, and ordered the landlord to provide them lodging, which was both mean and dear; but the governor was so kind as to desire them to send to him for any thing they wanted.

William Edmundson continued his travels and ministerial labours (as in his former visit) to Maryland, Virginia, and Carolina, appointing meetings

William Edmundson, in all convenient places, and attending the meetings of his friends, wherever they were settled, which were often very satisfactory and profitable, both the public meetings for worship, and those for managing the discipline of the church.

While in Virginia, and passing the bay of Chesapeake, the weather was so cold and stormy, that for want of fire or covering (being in an open boat) he in a great measure lost the use of his limbs for a season; so that when he came ashore he could neither stand nor walk without the support of two men on each side; and in like manner was he taken again to the boat.

It was also a time of trouble in this province, they being engaged in a war with the Indians, and in a civil war amongst themselves. A young man, named Bacon, availing himself of some discontents among the people, on account of restraints on trade, by his popular declamations, gained that ascendancy amongst them, that they chose him for their general against the governor of the province.

In this contest the country was generally involved, except the Quakers, who, in conformity to their principles, took no active part in the quarrel. And William Edmundson's presence at such a season, contributed to strengthen them in a steady adherence to their pacific principles. He travelled for a considerable time from place to place, until some frigates came from England with troops to quell the disturbances, which, with the death of their leader, terminated the civil commotions; but the Indians continued their incursions some time longer.

When he apprehended his service finished in Virginia, he had Carolina in prospect before his return to his native land; but this prospect was attended with great discouragement, the Indians being still in arms, and particularly frequenting that wilderness, through which his road to Carolina lay, where very



few durst travel unarmed. His friends used their endeavours to dissuade him from undertaking so hazardous a journey, where (by their accounts) several people had been murdered. He was naturally a man not easily intimidated, yet having a tenderness for the reputation of truth more than his own life, he began to consider, that if he should fall by the hands of the savages, it might furnish occasion to such as sought occasion, to depreciate the principle of truth which he professed, and his friends also, being under the guidance of a principle of action destructive in its nature, and leading them presumptuously into danger; for this reason he endeavoured to prevent his setting out, in hopes the concern might be taken from him. In the mean time he appointed a meeting on the north side of James River, to which many Friends came a great way, and amongst others the eldest son of the widow Houtland, at whose house William had lodged, with whom he took a walk the evening before the meeting, to give him some friendly advice: they parted to their respective lodgings in usual health, and a messenger came before morning to tell William, *the young man was dead.*

The news was an affecting surprize to his friends, but particularly to William Edmundson, who when it seemed to hear a language in his soul, which he took to be a divine warning, expressing itself to the purport: all lives are in my hand, and if thou go to Carolina, thy life is as this young man's; but if thou go, I will give thee thy life for a prey. This was powerfully impressed with the inward sense of duty, calling him to the performance of the journey, the next day he began to prepare for it; but none durst venture to accompany him, except one ancient Friend. In his company he traversed the wilderness, and through the protection of that divine hand, which he trusted, in two days reached Carolina in safety; here he had several consolatory meetings.

## PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS. 149

The people being widely scattered in this colony, having little or no benefit of ministry amongst them, received William with gladness; and several were convinced by his labours. Leaving Friends under the comfortable sense of their prosperity in the best things, and of peace in his own bosom, he returned safe to Virginia, and from thence to England, with the view of attending the ensuing yearly meeting at London, which he reached in due time.

About this time (1678) several Friends arrived in West Jersey, and the Indians were very hospitable, both by supplying them with provisions on moderate terms, and otherwise assisting them, so that they soon found their new settlement tolerably easy.

To accommodate themselves with a place for religious worship, at first they built a tent at Burlington, where they assembled regularly at stated times, until John Woolston had got his house (the first framed house in Burlington) completed; then they met there, both for worship and discipline, for nearly three years, when they removed their meeting to Thomas Gardiner's, where it continued to be held during his life and that of his widow, till a meeting-house was built there. Soon after they established a regular monthly meeting for business, after the manner of the country from whence they had removed, the first care of which was to make provision for their poor; the next, to discourage all Friends from being concerned in selling spirituous liquors to the Indians.

A considerable number of Friends of Dublin and vicinity, being inclined in 1681 to remove from thence into the province of West Jersey, wherein several of them had before purchased an interest, sent a vessel to London, and chartered a vessel, whereof Thomas Harting, noted for his deliverance from the Turks, was master, who accordingly sailed to Dublin to take them in, but being taken sick there, he could not

proceed: his mate, therefore, taking his place, in about eight weeks after their departure from Dublin, landed them at Elsingburgh, near Salem, where some of them settled amongst their former acquaintance who had removed before them, and whose industry had provided an ample supply of provisions for their accommodation. There was then a considerable number of Friends at Salem, and a meeting-house built, and several of the houses in that town being unoccupied, by means of the owners having removed further into the country, those who had families were readily accommodated with habitations for the present. After some time several of them took up their land, and fixed at a place called Newton Creek; where they raised temporary habitations adjacent to each other, for fear of the Indians, of whom their fears and jealousies subsided, as they became better acquainted with them. Then finding it inconvenient to be seated so near together, they divided their lands, and removed to their respective plantations; and notwithstanding the land had been purchased by the commissioners of the Indians, they gave them a compensation to remove off. The Indians were friendly and serviceable to them in several respects, often supplying them with venison and corn, till they could reap the fruits of their own labours. In the spring they settled a meeting at the house of Mary Newby, and two years afterwards they built a meeting-house at Newtown, established a monthly meeting for discipline, and some time after, they and Friends at Salem, increasing in number, composed together on a quarterly meeting.

The number of Friends greatly increasing, they concluded that a yearly meeting might be of general service, unanimously agreed to establish one in Burlington, which was held in the 6th month, 1681.

1684. William Gibson of London, an eminent minister and member of this society, finished a

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## PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS. 151

place, in Dublin, where some acquaintance with industry was for them a considerable number of houses built, and being unoccupied, were ready to be let. After the death of his land, and where the people each other. From that time he frequented the meetings of this society, and soon after quitted his military engagement, and employed himself in the occupation of a shoemaker. He afterwards received a dispensation of the gospel to preach to others. In 1662 he married, and settled in the precincts of Sankey meeting, near Warrington. He was a serviceable man in that country while resident there, his doctrine being effectual to the conviction of some, and to the confirmation of many others in the truth, and, when he removed from thence, he left a good report and impressions of affectionate respect to his memory.

It fell to his lot with his brethren to suffer persecution for his testimony, in divers imprisonments, in personal abuse, and in loss of substance by various distraits. In 1660, at a meeting at Hinton in Herefordshire, many rude people and soldiers rushing in, pulled out those that were met, and meeting William Gibson in the street, just came to town on horseback, thronged about him. He told them that he came in love to their souls," and as he rode along, exhorted them to repentance, when a rude fellow beat him and his horse unmercifully, after which they dragged him about in the dirt, and kept



him with the rest under a guard all night, and next day sent two men to conduct them to justice Blagney charging them with holding an unlawful assembly and breaking the King's peace; but the justice remarked, "that it was not probable they could be dangerous persons or peace breakers, who, being twenty-three in number, were brought to him with only two men to guard them," and so civilly dismissed them.

In the 4th month, 1661, being on the road near Stanton in Shropshire, he was taken by a party of foldiers, and with twenty-three of his friends, whom they had taken at several places, sent to prison whence in a short time they were escorted eight miles to the assizes, and there discharged, all but William Gibson, whom the judge recommitted and he remained in prison a considerable time, where he was treated with great cruelty by the keeper who would not permit his food to be taken to him but he was obliged to draw it up by a rope. The keeper also threw him down a pair of stone stairs whereby his body was greatly bruised, and beat him to that degree that he was sick near six months.

Afterwards he travelled southward on a religious visit to his friends and others, and was again imprisoned at Maidstone, in Kent, where he was long confined. After he was released, he went to London and settled there, removing his wife and family to that city, where his service was conspicuous.

He employed a part of the time of his imprisonments in writing epistles to his friends, and was engaged in some controversies, particularly on the subject of tithes, in a treatise, entitled "Tithes ended in Christ:" for his testimony against which he frequently suffered the loss of property. He wrote several other treatises serviceable at the time.

In the fore-part of 1684, notwithstanding he was in a declining state, feeling an engagement of min

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pay a religious visit to his native country, Lancashire, he travelled thither, and having performed his service, he was, in his return, seized with an ague and fever at Coventry, yet he reached his own habitation in London, and his indisposition continued on him about three months. He died the 20th of the 9th month, 1684, at the age of fifty-five years.

## PENNSYLVANIA.

Sir William Penn, who had been long employed in the station of admiral, both under Oliver Cromwell and King Charles the Second, at his death had a considerable debt due to him from the crown.—The King, in lieu of pecuniary satisfaction, by letters patent, bearing date the 4th of March, 1680-1, granted to William Penn, son of the admiral, and his heirs, that province lying on the west of the river Delaware, North America, formerly possessed by the Dutch, being a part of that tract denominated by them New Netherlands; but now the name was changed by the King to that of Pennsylvania, in honour of William Penn, whom and his heirs he made governors and absolute proprietors thereof. This favour was supposed to be principally owing to the influence of the Duke of York, with whom Admiral Penn had been a peculiar favourite, who, considering his son exposed to the danger of suffering for his religious principles, had demonstrated his paternal affection, by procuring the duke's protection of him, which he promised, and in general afforded.

William Penn soon after published an account of Pennsylvania; describing the country and its produce, offering an easy purchase of lands, and encouraging terms of settlement to such as might incline to move thither. Many single persons and some families from England and Wales accepted the invita-

tion. To secure the friendship of the natives to the colony, the governor gave order to use them with the utmost humanity, appointed commissioners to treat with them about land, and to confirm a league of peace\*.

In the summer of 1682, William Penn took ship for this province, in order to take possession and establish the constitution and government thereof, being accompanied by many Friends, who, from the prospect of enjoying their civil and religious liberties without the molestation they were exposed to in England, were induced to remove themselves, and settle under the government of a man, with whose humanity, liberality of sentiment, and religious regard to justice and equity they were well acquainted.

In about two months they finished their voyage during which time thirty died of the small pox.

When they had entered the Delaware, and were sailing up that river, the inhabitants, Dutch, Swedish and English, met and congratulated William Penn on his arrival, and received him with much joy and affection. He landed at Newcastle, and next day summoned the people to the court-house, and made a speech, declaring the purpose of his coming and the ends of his government; previous to which, possession of the country was legally given him. But William Penn's religious principles did not permit him to look upon the King's patent, or the legal possession according to the laws of England, sufficient to establish his right to this country, without purchasing it from the natives, to whom by right of possession it properly belonged: he entered into and confirmed a treaty with them for this purpose, whereby they, for a valuable consideration in purchase, freely ceded to him and his heirs the lands in question; which gave security to the planters in this colony, beyond which those of the other provinces had obtained

\* See a letter to the natives, Gough's History, vol. iii. p. 101.

much bloodshed. And the testimony of a late author concerning this treaty is very honourable to both the contracting parties, that "it is the only treaty between those people and the Christians that was not ratified by an oath, and was never infringed."

This manner of treating the Indians begat in them such an affection to him and his people, that they maintained a perfect amity with the English of Pennsylvania, and revered the memory of William Penn long after his decease, and still continue to hold it in great esteem.

This amicable disposition of the natives was of great service to the new planters, who found the country a mere wilderness, chiefly inhabited by Indians, with a few Swedes thinly scattered, who treated them with particular kindness, so that notwithstanding the number of these new colonists was considerable, they were, by the goodness of Providence, furnished with the necessary supply of provisions, partly by the Swedes and Indians, who brought them an abundance of venison and corn, at very reasonable rates; and partly by importation from the neighbouring provinces, which were settled before.

William Penn having thus conciliated the affections of the Indians to his colony, his paternal care was next applied to lay a lasting foundation for the peace and happiness of his people, by establishing a body of laws, calculated to secure their religious and civil liberties, and the free and full enjoyment of their property on the firmest basis.

In the tenth month following, a general assembly of the freeholders was held at Chester, by which Newcastle was annexed to Pennsylvania; the foreigners here inhabiting were naturalized; and William Penn having agreed, in concert with the adventurers, previous to their departure from England, upon the name of government, and the laws to be established in the province, (drawn up by himself) the same, with



some amendments, were now confirmed and passed into acts of assembly, as the established laws of the colony.

The constitution and laws being fixed and established by the unanimous suffrages of the people's representatives, in an unbiassed assembly, William Penn's next care was to establish tribunals in every county, with proper officers, &c. where the courts were held every two months for the executing the laws, the administration of justice, and preservation of property\*.

William Penn's legislation is generally admired while the religion which he professed is too generally treated with contempt; and yet this despised religion chiefly contributed to the formation of the excellent legislator; and the superior advantages in the constitution of the government of William Penn seem to result from this, that whilst most others established religion conformable to human prudence or policy, he made religion the basis of his political regulations.

The first settlers of this province were particularly careful to keep up their meetings in the houses of the inhabitants, till they got a temporary meeting-house erected of boards, near the banks of the Delaware, where their chief city was designed to be built; and as they were nearly united in brotherly affection to each other, their meetings were conducted to their mutual consolation. In their intervals they were assistant to each other in building small houses for their present residence, mostly by

\* The following is Abbé Raynal's reflection upon the state of Pennsylvania at this time: "Here it is that the mind rests with pleasure upon modern history, and feels some kind of compensation for the disgust, horror, or melancholy which the whole of it, but particularly the European settlements in America, inspires."

## PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS

157

and passed the side of the Delaware, till their ability and leisure might enable them to build more substantial habitations.

This was the beginning of the city of Philadelphia\*, a city, which for convenience of situation, between the navigable rivers Delaware and Schuylkill) uniformity of design, and the regularity of its plan, remains a lasting monument of the abilities of its founder, and his unremitting attention to the convenience, satisfaction and interest of the colony.

Some time after their establishing a meeting of worship, William Penn and his friends established meetings for discipline, after the model of those in England.

They proceeded next to the consideration of a suitable place to build a meeting-house, and the plan on which it should be built; the expence whereof was agreed should be defrayed by Friends of the colony; and whereas it was not improbable but some individuals might be reduced to want through sickness, the loss of their parents or relations, or the expences attendant on so distant a removal and new settlement, their next care was to provide for the constant supply of the exigencies of such, if such could be found, at the expence of the monthly meeting.

1682 By desire of the yearly meeting of London, John Burnyeat wrote a satisfactory account of the state of said meeting, desiring them also, on behalf of the meeting, to write an account of their state, the prosperity of religion amongst them, and the circumstances of the affairs of the society in their

The very name seems to have been adopted from the general view of reminding the inhabitants of the advantage of cultivating amity, and a mutual good understanding between themselves, which they continued long to cherish, to a degree sufficient to obtain the honourable testimony of sundry authors in commendation. See Rev. ch. iii, v. 7, &c.

several provinces, from their respective yearly half-year's meetings, to be transmitted to the ensuing yearly meeting in London: which desire was complied with, and an annual correspondence between these colonies and the yearly meeting is still continued.

In this year died John Thomas of Gwynedd, Pennsylvania, who had removed thither with several others of his countrymen, from Larthguin in Merionethshire, whose character Hugh Roberts, his acquaintance, hath drawn, to the following purpose. He was a man distinguished above the generality of his neighbours in his native country, for the solidity of his understanding and excellency of his natural parts. In 1672 he was convinced of the principles of the Quakers, and this being a time of hot persecution, proved the sincerity of his motives, by joining them in society; for, immediately after his conversion, he had his share of the sufferings which the people, whose profession he had adopted, were exposed. The two first meetings he was he was informed against and fined, and for these fines, which could not legally exceed 15s. the informers took from him two oxen and a horse, and returned nothing back. But he seemed to feel for his own sufferings, than for those of his friends, insomuch that he hazarded the loss of his own estate to save them and theirs; for the principal informer, intent upon his prey, perceiving a reluctance in the high and petty constables to execute the warrants to the injury or ruin of their peaceable neighbours, had formed a project to get himself appointed high constable, and expedite the impoverishing or ruining of Friends in their estates. John Thomas hearing of his design, and foreseeing the great loss and distress likely to accrue to Friends there, applied himself to one of the more moderate justices and requested he might be accepted for that office.

## PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS, 159

which was granted. The informer upon this continued his informations against Friends, and procured warrant after warrant for distraints, which he brought the high constable to execute ; but he, being principled against it, told the informer he was responsible, and kept the warrants by him till they had got nine, expecting at the same time to be prosecuted by the informer, to his great loss in his outward circumstances ; but Providence rescued him from the impending suffering, for now the King's declaration for liberty of conscience put a stop to the power of those informers.

Being faithful, he received a gift in the ministry, the exercise whereof he became very serviceable, amongst Friends in his native country, by whom he was greatly beloved. He suffered a tedious illness, but the weakness of his body did not diminish the strength of his love to pure religion, or to the prosperity of his friends and family therein, to whom he imparted many lively exhortations, during his indisposition, to religious care of their conduct in fidelity to God and man. A little before his departure he expressed his resignation in this ejaculation : " Bless thy name, Lord God everlasting, thy will be done in earth as it is done in heaven." In this resigned temper he calmly took his leave of his friends present, and departed this life the 3d day of the 3d month, 1683.

In the beginning of the next year Francis White-ell departed this life, who, besides his services in the government, being one of the proprietor's counsellors, was also very serviceable in a religious capacity, being an approved minister amongst his brethren, and a useful member of society in other respects. William Marvel was chosen to supply his place as counsellor for Kent county.

Bucks county began now to increase in settlements, and to extend back into the country, the earlier



earlier settlers having generally chosen to fix their residence along the side of the Delaware. They were already settled about as far back as Middletown, at which place a monthly meeting had been lately established. The first of that kind there was held at the house of Nicholas Waln, the 1st day of the 1<sup>st</sup> month last year (1683); and several Friends from Europe continuing to remove to this province and settle in these parts, this neighbourhood soon became well improved. Amongst the rest Thomas Langhorn from Westmoreland, with several Friends from that county, retired up thither to settle, and proved a valuable acquisition to this part of the province, some of them being well qualified for service as able members of religious society, especially Thomas Langhorn, a man high in the esteem of his Friends in his native country, for his religious services amongst them, to which they bore ample testimony in the certificate they gave him upon his removal to America; from which, it appears, that the motive to his change of residence was a religious concern of mind, and an inward persuasion of its being not his proper place to settle in, that induced him to remove with his family thither, as the place assigned for his future ministerial labour, to promote amongst the new settlers (besides a spirit of industry in cultivating their plantations) an inward exercise in the cultivation of religious dispositions, by the help of that measure of grace, of which they were respectively partakers, which produceth a conversation adorned with the uniform practice of moral virtues. He did not survive his arrival long. Having purchased a plantation, and made some improvements on it, in a few years after he was removed from work to rewards, yet lived long enough there to make his loss sensibly felt by his friends and neighbours.

And now William Penn having spent about two years in his province of Pennsylvania, and settled

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is infant colony in a thriving prosperous condition, returned to England some months before the death of King Charles II.

Immediately after the decease of King Charles II. his brother, the Duke of York, was proclaimed king. On the first day of his reign, he assembled a council at Whitehall, and in a speech disclaimed arbitrary principles, promised his protection to the church of England, and the liberties of the people. He received congratulatory addresses from most parts of the kingdom, many of which were printed, and with them a fictitious address, remarked for its brevity, plainness and blunt familiarity of expression, which had been by Eachard, Hume, and others, published to the world for the address of the Quakers to King James upon his accession\*. But I find no account of their being in the number of the congratulatory addressers. The first address they presented was in a different style, on the like occasion with those which had influenced them to address the successive kings from their first rise. At the death of King Charles, near fifteen hundred of this people were in London; and, notwithstanding petition upon petition presented to him for relief, few of them were aided with effect. But the grievous sufferings

\* We are come to testify our sorrow for the death of our friend Charles, and our joy for thy being made our governor. We are told thou art not of the persuasion of the king of England no more than we, wherefore we hope thou wilt grant us the same liberty thou allowest thyself. Which we wish thee all manner of happiness."

It is allowed that the members of this society were not in the custom of paying complimentary addresses to any man; but when their sympathetic regard to the sufferings of their countrymen, or the distressing feelings of their own, impelled them to apply for relief, of which occasion chiefly they addressed their superiors, their addresses, though expressed in a plain manner, were comprized in respectful terms; void of flattery, but not indecent; unceremonious, but not uncivil.

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they had long endured with patience, and were subjected to, induced them, particularly on every change of government, to apply to the new rulers in hopes at last to excite them to commiserate their case, and to yield them redress.

Accordingly, about a month after King James's accession to the throne, several Friends waited on him with an address, and case of their Friends.

Shortly after, the Friends of London drew up a more copious state of their case, addressed to the king and both houses of parliament, wherein they recapitulated their sufferings in person and estate.

How far the parliament might be impressed with this affecting state of their sufferings with sentiments of compassion and equity, they had not the opportunity of discovering, nor, I imagine, had even the members of the society an opportunity of presenting it to them; for soon after their meeting the proceedings were interrupted by the news of the Duke of Argyle landing in Scotland, endeavouring to raise a rebellion there, and of the Duke of Monmouth's arrival on the western coast with three thousand men from Holland. The parliament, upon this intelligence, passed a vote that they would adhere to the king with their lives and fortunes, passed a bill of attainder against the duke, granted the king 400,000*l.* for suppressing the rebellion, and then the parliament adjourned.

Both of them were defeated, taken, and soon executed; and great numbers of the followers of the latter were executed without the form of a trial. The Earl of Feversham, and with savage wantonness by Colonel Kirk.

Being earnestly desirous to obtain the liberty of those imprisoned, the Friends of London renewed their solicitations to the king for their liberty, and at length obtained a warrant to Sir Robert Yerger, attorney-general, ordering their release\*.

\* Gough's History, vol. iii. p. 167.

## PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS. 163

Sir Robert being at this time at his country house in Hampshire, about forty miles from London, and the Friends of that city being earnest to expedite the release of their fellow-professors, requested George Whitehead and John Edge, accompanied by Rowland Vaughan, attorney, to undertake a journey thither, which they did accordingly, and were entered by the attorney-general with great civility, till liberates could be made out under the attorney's directions for the prisoners in the city, which took up a good part of the day; by means whereof, after their return, their Friends in the sundry prisons in the city obtained their liberty within the description of the warrant.

Soon after the attorney-general returned to London, and then the said Friends exerted themselves to procure the like liberates, whereby the discharge of the rest of the prisoners in the different parts of the city, under the circumstances comprized in the attorney's warrant, was obtained.

In 1686, after the Quakers were released from imprisonment, they were still exposed to the ravages of informers. The king having condescended to attend patiently to the relation of their grievances, and complied with their petition to release their imprisoned Friends, they were encouraged to present a complaint and petition against the informers and their iniquitous practices, which was followed up by a request to the king to appoint commissioners to inquire into the truth of the allegations, by giving the petitioners an opportunity of proving them to the informers' faces. Their request was granted, and a commission was issued to Richard Graham and John Burton, esqrs. who sent their summons to the informers, sufferers and witnesses, to appear before them at Clifford's inn.

The day appointed the complainants and their witnesses appeared, and the informers also; fifty-four



four cases were selected, and the Friends named therein being summoned to appear with their witnesses, when they came to Clifford's Inn, the informers being without door, at seeing so numerous a company appearing against them, expressed their malice in much ribaldry, suitable to their vulgar manners.

The first charge advanced against the informers was, that "they had sworn falsely in fact," which was proved in no less than thirty-four cases. The frequent perjuries being established by substantial evidence, to the full satisfaction of the commissioners and others, Friends next proceeded to lay before them sundry cases, wherein the doors of houses and shops were broke open by constables and informers to make distrains severe and exorbitant, by which household and shop goods were carried away in cart-loads. So many flagrant instances of perjury, devastation and spoil plainly appeared upon proof, that the commissioners grew weary of hearing them, and adjourned the further proceeding for ten days, when they had got through scarce one fourth of the cases prepared to be laid before them.

At the second meeting of the commissioners, the informers feed a lawyer to plead for them; but instances of their perjury and oppression were so numerous, and so well proved by evidence, that he was quickly silenced. At this second meeting, although they had not examined half the cases prepared for their cognizance, the commissioners thought the allegation of the petition fully proved, and that they had sufficient grounds to make a report to the king.

It seems proper to remark here the contrivance of the informers, to prevent some of the most active promoters of this inquiry from appearing against them at the second meeting of the commissioners. Having procured a warrant against George White

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In Daw, William Ingram, and John Vaughton,  
 on the 12th of June, 1686, they were ap-  
 prehended the 13th, (being the day before that ap-  
 pointed for the second meeting aforesaid) and taken  
 to the Lord Mayor's, where they were kept several  
 days waiting for his coming from his worship,  
 afterwards detained several more, until the in-  
 formers should come in to give evidence against  
 them; but none appearing, about nine o'clock at  
 night the mayor required them to be bound by re-  
 cognizance to appear at the next sessions for the  
 peace, and in the mean time to be of "good beha-  
 viour." With this requisition they were not will-  
 ing to comply, as implying misbehaviour, which  
 was not proved against any of them. Upon their  
 refusal, the mayor called them a company of Cox-  
 wains; and ordered a mittimus to be drawn out to  
 carry them to prison; but on further consideration  
 and consultation, took their word to appear at next  
 sessions, and dismissed them for that time, where-  
 by they were at liberty to attend the commissioners  
 at their second meeting. And when they appeared  
 at the sessions, no evidence appearing against them,  
 they were discharged by proclamation.  
 The commissioners having drawn up their report,  
 and presented it before the king in council, the 11th of 5th  
 month, 1686, who referred the report and case of  
 the petitioners to the chancellor, in order to correct  
 the irregular proceedings of some justices and the  
 informers. Besides which, he signified his pleasure  
 to the subordinate magistrates, that they should put  
 a stop to the depredations of these men. Instead,  
 however, of being encouraged, they were now dis-  
 countenanced by the justices, and by the quarter ses-  
 sions of London and Middlesex. Being prosecuted  
 by other dissenters, such scenes of iniquity were  
 often, as caused several of them to fly the coun-  
 try;

try; and the rest, when their trade was gone, were mostly reduced to beggary.

There still remained another grievance unredressed, which hath been repeatedly noticed, i. e. the sufferings of Friends, as popish recusants, particularly the act of 23 Eliz. for 20l. a month, for absence from their parish churches, and that for two thirds of their estates, were still carried into execution, whereby many Friends were greatly impoverished in their substance; being estreated in the Exchequer, and writs annually issued from thence against them, to the several sheriffs, to make seizure of their goods and estates to satisfy the confiscations; by virtue whereof, unprincipled bailiffs, who they made their seizures, would remain in the house eating and drinking until all the goods were removed.

They therefore made their third application to the king for a stay of process in the Exchequer, which he was pleased to grant; and gave direction to the lord treasurer and attorney-general, that no writ should be issued out of the Exchequer against Friends on these accounts, whereby the great damage or loss of some hundreds of Friends was prevented\*.

It was a great consolation to the members of

\* William Penn's acquaintance at court, where it was generally thought those of the king's religion were most favourably received, subjected him to the undeserved censure of some, who at least knew him, as being a papist, or at least of holding a correspondence with the jesuits at Rome; and this mistaken notion was not entertained by the common people only, but began to get admission into the minds of some persons of judgment; and amongst others his acquaintance John Tillotson (afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury) dropped some expressions, which were improved to his disadvantage. William Penn wrote a letter to him on the subject, which introduced correspondence, terminating in Tillotson's full conviction that his suspicion was groundless.

*See William Penn's Life,*

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 Penn's Life,  
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ety, at their ensuing annual meeting in London,  
 ave the company of many valuable Friends, who  
 been immured in prison, some of them twelve  
 fifteen years and upwards. George Fox, who  
 ded now mostly in and about London, being on  
 y occasion watchful over his Friends for good,  
 e an epistle of caution to them, to beware of  
 lessness and lukewariness, creeping in through  
 liberty with which they were now favoured.  
 In this year David Barclay departed this life, at  
 house at Ury in Scotland. In the latter end of  
 mber this year, being the seventy-sixth year of  
 age, he was taken ill of a fever, and was also  
 ted with the gravel, which continued upon him  
 two weeks; during which time he was preserv-  
 in resignation and patience under great pain.  
 days before his death he said to his son Robert,  
 hall go to the Lord, and be gathered to many  
 y brethren, who are gone before me." The  
 morning early, his said son watching by him,  
 expressing his desire, "that he who loved him  
 be near him to his end," he answered, "the  
 is nigh me." And, as comforted in the pro-  
 of his son's succeeding him, in a life of piety,  
 id, "the perfect discovery of the day-spring  
 on high, how great a blessing hath it been to  
 nd my family!" The apothecary who attended  
 visiting him in the course of his employment,  
 ok him by the hand, and said, "thou wilt bear  
 tness, that in all this exercise I have not been  
 us to pamper the flesh." To which the apo-  
 y replied, "Sir, I can bear witness, that you  
 always minded the better and more substantial  
 and I rejoice to see the blessed end the Lord is  
 ing you to." His last expressions were uttered  
 ay. "Praises to the Lord. Let now thy  
 at depart in peace. Into thy hands, O Father,  
 mit my soul, spirit and body. Thy will, O  
 Lord,



Lord, be done, in earth, as it is done in heaven. And soon after he breathed his last.

His remains were attended to the grave by a numerous train, particularly of the higher rank, who from the regard they bore to his memory, came invited, to pay him this last office of respect.

This year also Anne Whitehead, wife of George Whitehead, mentioned in this work by the name of Anne Downer, departed this life; a woman religiously inclined from her early youth, who followed the most approved preachers, and used the best means as far as she could discover them, to insure her present and future peace; and when the ministers, bearing the reproachful name of Quakers, came to the city of London, where she dwelt, she was one of the first who received their ministry, and was distinguished there by that name of reproach. Being invited to attend George Fox and his fellow-preachers at Launceston, in 1656, she travelled thither on two hundred miles, and in that journey was instrumental to convince many of the truth of the doctrine she published, some of whom were of account in the world. And in her return she confirmed several who were newly convinced; and in 1658 travelled in the southern counties, and in the Wight. She was first married to Benjamin Gwell, a grocer in Bishopsgate-street, and after to George Whitehead. She was justly esteemed an ornament to her profession, for which she ungenerally suffered when it fell to her lot. She bore integrity to the last. When she was visited with her last sickness, she was removed out of London six miles, and her disorder increasing upon her, she perceived it was likely to prove mortal; her apprehension of her approaching end occasioned no terror or perturbation in her well-prepared mind. She signified her resignation and lively hope

affecting expressions to her friends, who came to visit her on her death-bed.

She departed in peace the 27th of the 5th month, 1686, about sixty-three years of age, leaving impressions of affectionate regard to her memory in the hearts of many, to whom she had been helpful by ministerial, or charitable services.

In 1687, probably from the discovery of the practices of the informers and their confederates, the king appointed commissioners to enquire what monies had been raised, or goods seized by distress on dissenters, on prosecutions for recusancy, and not to account in the exchequer, and what monies or goods had been received for any matters relating to religion since September 1677, in any of the counties for which they were named. They were to return the names of all who had seized monies or received money. This struck a terror into the whole tribe of informers, who are said to have mostly shared the booty amongst themselves, without either giving to the king or to the poor the sum appointed by law; so that, if prosecuted, they were threatened with ruin from this enquiry; but it did not appear the protestant dissenters were forced to appear against them, it being reported that advances were given by leading persons, both clerical and laity, that if they would not appear, no such proceedings should be pursued in future.

The dread and aversion which the people of England entertained of the Romish religion, received additional strength and influence by an occurrence which happened this year. Louis XIV revoked the edict of Nantz, which had been published by Henry IV. for the security of the protestants, and which had been declared irrevocable. They were immediately distressed by all the rigours of persecution, whereby multitudes of them were driven to seek in foreign nations an asylum from the severities inflicted upon them at home. Near fifty thousand

land took refuge in England, and brought such dismal accounts of the cruel treatment they had undergone, as produced in all the protestants the utmost abhorrence of the sanguinary, cruel and perfidious spirit of popery. The king's friendly reception and protection of the fugitives, and his affecting highness to blame the king of France, were ineffectual to cure his subjects of their jealousy of him, or the antipathy to his religion.

The forepart of the succeeding year King James published a declaration for liberty of conscience, ordering that henceforth the execution of penal laws, concerning ecclesiastical affairs, should be suspended.

Though this liberty was only granted by the king himself, and the parliament when assembled might call his power in question, as they had done his brother's in the like case, yet the dissenters of every class, wearied out with their sufferings, being attentive, perhaps, at this time to any sinister view which might give rise to it, or to the legality of it, than rejoicing at the state of ease they found themselves in, presented addresses of thanks to the king for his said gracious declaration; and the Quakers of London, seeing that those of other persuasions had gone up to court with such addresses, that they might not seem less sensible of the relief which they, who had suffered more severely than others, received, thought it also expedient to come upon the king with an address, which met with a favourable reception; but being presented by Friends of London only, at the ensuing yearly meeting in that city, constituted of representatives from several parts of the nation, a second address was drawn up in the name and on behalf of the community at large, deputing, amongst others, William Penn to deliver it, who introduced the declaration with a suitable speech.

Though the dissenters, as well as the king, were

desirous that the repeal of the penal laws might receive a parliamentary sanction, yet the ends they had respectively in view, were such as to prevent a cordial coalition. James's design became more and more clearly apparent, to centre entirely in the promoting and establishing of popery in the nation, which the dissenters were no less averse than the established church; and notwithstanding the ease and even favours which they enjoyed, under the present disposition of the king towards them, yet they began clearly to perceive all these flattering measures were ultimately designed in favour of the Romanists; and therefore they placed but little confidence in the king's favours, and cautiously abstained from lending their assistance to measures, the sign of which they did not approve.

On the 27th of the second month (April) 1688, the king published a second declaration for liberty of conscience, fuller than the former, exciting his subjects to accede to it, and to chuse such members of parliament as might do their parts to finish what he had begun, signifying his resolution to convene a parliament to meet in November next; with an order of council annexed, for reading his declaration in all churches and chapels, and directing the bishops to distribute the same through their dioceses; but the bishops, unwilling to be instruments of abridging their own interests, wholly declined compliance. Seven of them being met in London, and consulting together, came to a resolution, to present a humble representation to the king, of the reasons why they desired to be excused from complying with this order of council; and though they waited personally upon the king with a petition, without communicating the contents to any person whatever, he resented it in such a degree, that they were committed prisoners to the Tower.

Notwithstanding the public temper was warm in favour



favour of the bishops, yet, the late severities of some of their order against the dissenters, particularly the Quakers, occasioning some reflections which came to their ears, they alledged, "That the Quakers belied them, and reported, that they (the bishops) had been the cause of the death of some." Robert Barclay hearing of this, paid a visit to the bishops in the Tower, and in a conference with them upon the subject, gave them undeniable proof of some persons, who by order of bishops had been detained in prison until death, though they had been apprized of their danger, by physicians who were no Quakers. This was so manifestly evidenced, that the bishops were not able to contradict it; yet Robert Barclay told them, that since through change of circumstances, they themselves were now under oppression, it was by no means the intention of the Quakers to publish such incidents, or to give the king or their adversaries any advantage against them thereby. And they were accordingly very careful to refrain from every measure that might in any respect aggravate the case of the prisoners, as esteeming it no time to revive old animosities, when the common enemy was seeking an advantage.

In the present state of the nation, both the king and members of the established church endeavouring to gain the dissenters to their side, persecution subsided, and they enjoyed liberty of conscience without molestation. In these circumstances, the Quakers thought it convenient, at their yearly meeting in London, to draw up another address to the king, requesting relief in subjects which still rendered them exposed to considerable detriment.

This address was well received; but before the time proposed for holding a parliament arrived, he found it out of his power to redress their grievances if he were so inclined.

When King James was declining in power,

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medium resulting from his measures, reached most or all who were supposed of his party or well-affected to his person. William Penn continued to be exposed to much undeserved obloquy on this account; and notwithstanding the explanation of his conduct, his clear refutation of sundry calumnies charged upon him, his open profession of his faith as a protestant, and the unequivocal proofs he had continually given thereof, and of his sincerity in adopting and maintaining the principles of the Quakers, whereby he was restrained from the least intermeddling in any business who were not; yet his intimacy with the late king had so firmly fixed jealousies of him in many minds, as soon the revolution of this government, occasioned, him considerable inconvenience for some time after. On the 10th of December, 1688, walking in Whitehall, he was sent for by the lords of the council, then sitting; and though nothing appeared against him, yet they obliged him to give sureties for his appearance the first day of the next term; which he did, and then was continued on the same security to Easter Term following, on the last day of which no cause of crimination appearing, he was cleared in open court.

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C H A P. VII.

FROM THE REVOLUTION TO THE ACCESSION OF  
GEORGE I.

WILLIAM and Mary. prince and princess of Orange, being elected king and queen of England, by a convention of the two estates of lords and commons, were crowned at Westminster  
I 3 the

the 11th of the second month, O. S. (April,) 1689

The next measure in favour of dissenters was attended with much better success, i. e. the bringing in and passing an act, commonly called, the Act of Toleration, intitled, "An act for exempting protestant subjects, dissenting from the church of England, from the penalties of certain laws," which passed without much opposition.

The Quakers by this act were legally tolerated in their religion, and exempted from the persecution they had been long subjected to, for keeping up their religious meetings, and declining to take the oath of allegiance. But they were, and are still subjected to the power of those called spiritual courts, in prosecutions for tithes.

They were as yet also liable to many inconveniencies, by reason of their scruple to take an oath; but the legislature, sometime after, upon their petition, was pleased to yield them relief in that matter.

This year died Alexander Parker. He was born on the borders of Yorkshire, near Bolton, in Lancashire; was well educated, and early convinced of the principles of the Quakers, and became an eminent minister in that society. He accompanied George Fox in his journey to London, when he was sent up by Colonel Hacker to Oliver Cromwell; tarried with him in and about London, and travelled with him through sundry counties; as he did afterwards from time to time in divers journeys in different parts of England, Scotland, and Holland, in 1684. He travelled also many journeys by himself in the exercise of his gospel labours, being one in the number of the worthies of this age, who were given up to the promoting of pure religion, as the principal purpose of their lives. In 1664, soon after the act for banishment was put in force, on the 17th of the fifth month, O. S. (July) two justices, with constables, and foldiers,

ldiers, came to the meeting at Mile-end-green, and placed a guard at each gate: after some time Alexander Parker stood up to speak, beginning with these words, "In the name of the Lord;" upon which one of the justices rushed into the meeting, profanely crying out, "In the name of the devil, knock that fellow down;" which was presently done. All the men then present (being thirty-two) were sent to Newgate for three months, for the first offence upon the act for banishment. He was imprisoned twice afterwards, and for preaching in Gracechurch-street, he was fined 20l. In 1669 he married Prudence Wager, of Stepney, widow, and resided in London: he was very serviceable in solicitations to government, for the relief of friends under sufferings. He wrote several treatises and letters to his friends; and concluded a life spent in honest endeavours to do good, in much peace, on the 8th of first month, 1688-9.

William Penn, notwithstanding his public disavowing of disloyal principles; by the defence he made before the council; and that nothing criminal had been laid to his charge; yet his supposed intimacy at the court of King James brought him under suspicion of being disaffected to the present government; and he was again brought before the privy council, upon an accusation of sending a correspondence with the late king. Upon requiring sureties for his appearance, he applied to King William himself, who after a conference of near two hours, inclined to acquit him; to please some of the council, he was held in bail, and in Trinity Term, 1690, the same year, discharged.

As the campaign in Ireland had not been attended with much success, King William determined to command the army there in person, which suggested to some of the discontented party a favourable



able opportunity, during his absence, to form a conspiracy in favour of the abdicated monarch. This conspiracy, originally formed in Scotland, was discovered about the time of the king's departure for Ireland, upon which a proclamation was issued out by the queen, for seizing not only those immediately engaged therein, but such also as lay under suspicion of being zealous partizans of the late king, and amongst others William Penn; who, with divers lords and others, to the number of eighteen, were charged with adhering to the kingdom's enemies; but proof failing respecting him, he was again cleared by the Court of King's Bench.

Being now at liberty, he proposed to make another voyage to Pennsylvania, and published proposals in print for a second settlement there; but was prevented by a fresh accusation of being concerned in another plot\*.

This accusation being backed by the oath of William Fuller †, a warrant was thereupon granted for the apprehension of William Penn.

\* King William going over to the Congress at the Hague, as soon as his intentions were known, some of the disaffected party, resolved to take advantage of the opportunity, while his absence would afford them, to form a new conspiracy against the government; and in order to accomplish their design, Lord Preston and one Ashton were fixed upon to go to France, to concert with King James the measures and conditions, upon which they were to proceed: but by intelligence given to the Marquis of Carmarthen, they were both taken in the hold of the vessel, which they had engaged to take them to France, together with the packet of letters and papers they were carrying over. Ashton was executed: but Preston saved his own life, informed against several of the nobility, who had been most active in forwarding the revolution, as well against many of the partisans of the late king, giving William Penn's name among others.

† In the year 1702 this Fuller was prosecuted in the King's Bench, and convicted as an impostor; and for publishing

He had hitherto defended himself before the king and council: but perceiving his safety to be greatly endangered, having, undeservedly, many powerful enemies, the tide of public rumour making against him, he thought it more advisable to retire to the present, till more favourable circumstances might give him an opportunity of being heard without prejudice, in vindication of his innocence, than the present circumstances hazard the sacrificing thereof to the oaths of a profligate miscreant; he accordingly appeared little in public for two or three years. During this recess, he employed himself in writing; and first, lest his friends might be induced to make a public report, to entertain any suspicious sentiments concerning him, he sent an epistle to their early meeting in London.

His excellent preface to Robert Barclay's works, and another to those of John Burnyeat, both printed the year (1690) were farther fruits of his retirement; were also,

1. A small treatise, entitled, "Just Measures, in an epistle of peace and love, to such professors as under any dissatisfaction about the present order testified in the church of Christ."

2. "A Key opening the way to every common understanding, how to discern the difference between the religion professed by the people called Quakers, and the perversions, misrepresentations, calumnies of their adversaries, both upon their principles and practices; wherein several doctrines that people are set in a clear light:" a book so generally accepted, that it has been reprinted even the fifteenth edition.

libels, one entitled, "Original letters of the late King Charles, &c." another, "Twenty-six depositions of persons of ability and worth." Was sentenced to stand three times in pillory, to be sent to the house of correction, and to pay a fine of one thousand marks.—*Salmon's Geography*, p. 241.

In 1693, through the mediation of his friends Lord Ranelagh, Lord Somers, Sir John Trevellick, or some of them, he was admitted to appear before the privy council, where he pleaded his innocence, so as to obtain his release, and met with no further trouble on the like account.

After a short sickness, Robert Barclay died at his house at Ury, in Scotland, the 3d day of the eighth month, 1690.

His character as an author is given already: a man and a christian, three of his intimate friends who were well acquainted with his merit, William Penn, Patrick Livingstone and Andrew Jaffray have in substance described his character in their works\*.

His writings were mostly of the polemical kind. As he lived at a time when great pains were taken to vilify the society of which he was a member, he found it his concern to vindicate his profession from the misrepresentations of its antagonists, which is generally allowed to have done in a masterly manner, in a variety of tracts†.

George Fox, grown too infirm to bear travelling in consequence of the multiplied hardships he endured, in long and afflicting imprisonments, and by other means, spent his latter years in London and its neighbourhood, as the place where he could be most essentially and universally serviceable to his friends, particularly those under suffering for their religious testimony.

The last epistle he wrote, was to friends in Scotland, with whom he deeply sympathized under great hardships, dangers, and distressing sufferings they were afflicted with, by the war at that

\* See Gough's History, vol. iii. p. 246, &c.

† The titles of which are given in Gough's History, vol. iii. p. 249, &c.

his friend John Trevelyan had written this epistle, he went to the meeting at Gracechurch-street, which was large (it being on the first day of the week) where he was enabled to preach with great power and clearness; concluding with prayer. After the meeting, he went to Henry Polney's, in White-heart-court, adjoining to the meeting-house, and some friends accompanying him, he told them he thought he felt the cold strike his heart as he came out of the meeting, adding, "I am glad I was there; now I am clear, I am fully recovered." As soon as the company retired, he lay down upon a bed (as he sometimes used to do, though weariness after a meeting) but soon rose again; and feeling his strength decay, he was obliged to take his bed, where he lay in much contentment and peace.

He survived his last ministerial labour only two days, being removed from works to rewards, on the succeeding day of the week, in perfect unity with his brethren, and in good-will to all mankind, the 14th of the eleventh month, 1690, in the 67th year of his age.

His funeral from the meeting at White-hart-court, on the 16th of the same month, was attended by a great concourse of Friends, and others. Several affecting testimonies were borne, under the lively remembrance of his extraordinary services, during his life.

He was a man of tall stature and large body, but remarkably temperate. His deficiencies in literature have furnished a topick of ridicule to the gossamer of writers who have taken notice of him.

William Penn, who had the opportunity of knowing him better, and of discovering under the polished surface, the intrinsic value of his character, describes him to be "a man whom God endowed with a clear and wonderful depth; a discern-



cerner of other men's spirits, and very much master of his own. And though the side of his understanding, which lay next to the world, and especially the expression of it, might sound uncouth and unfashionable to nice ears, his matter was nevertheless very profound, and would not only bear to be often considered, but the more it was so the more weighty and instructive it appeared. And as abruptly and brokenly as sometimes his sentences would fall from him about divine things, it is well known they were often as texts to many fairer declarations. And indeed it shewed beyond contradiction, that God sent him, in that no art or part had any share in the matter or manner of his ministry; and that so many great, excellent, and necessary truths, as he came forth to preach to mankind, had therefore nothing of man's wit or wisdom to recommend them. So that as to man he was an original, being no man's copy."

Thomas Salthouse, who lived in Judge Fell's family at the time when George Fox went to Swarthmore, and was convinced by his ministry, died the year.

In 1654, he travelled to London, in the work of the ministry, from whence, in company with Miles Halhead, he went to Bristol; and thence westward towards Exeter; but numbers being discontented at this time with Oliver Cromwell's usurpation, encouraged the party, called Cavaliers, to attempt an insurrection in the west, which was soon quashed, and guards being placed in these parts, to take such as were suspected to be assistant therein, when these Friends reached Honiton, they were taken up and brought before Colonel Copleston, high sheriff of the county, on suspicion of being concerned in the insurrection; and though upon examining them he owned he believed them clear, he imprisoned them, and sent them away with a pass, as was granted

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ents, which is already related, together with their  
 ceeding imprisonment by the procurement of  
 ge Brooks. After their release, they went to  
 ir habitations, in the north; but Thomas Salt-  
 se, in 1656, travelling again in the work of the  
 istry, returned into the western counties, and  
 tinued some time in that quarter, in the exercise  
 is gift, in the course whereof he was taken from  
 eeting at Thomas Budd's, at Martock in Somers-  
 hire, and committed by Robert Hunt and John  
 y to Ivelchester jail, as a dangerous, wandering,  
 idle person, till the quarter sessions, where the  
 ces tendered him the oath of abjuration; for his  
 fal whereof, they fined him 5*l.* and remanded  
 to prison till he should pay it, where he con-  
 ed a prisoner about a year.  
 After his release he prosecuted his travels for pro-  
 ing righteousness in different parts of the nation;  
 in 1660 returned again into the west, and was  
 n imprisoned at Ivelchester, in the eleventh  
 th that year, together with his companion John  
 se, and many others: at the ensuing assizes at  
 rd, the greatest part of their fellow prisoners  
 e released, but these two and a few more, were  
 ined till the ensuing sessions; at which the rest  
 e discharged; but the court required sureties  
 Thomas Salthouse and John Scaife, for their go-  
 home, the former into Lancashire and the latter  
 Westmoreland, and for their coming no more  
 Somersetshire for three years; terms which  
 could not comply with; wherefore Thomas  
 house was sent back to prison, and John Scaife  
 e house of correction as a vagabond. They  
 e detained to the latter end of the third month,  
 then enlarged upon the king's proclamation.  
 was again taken up with Thomas Lower, on  
 unt of an insurrection in the month of October  
 ame year; but after a long examination and a  
 detention

detention of three days, being found innocent, they were discharged.

After a considerable portion of his life spent between travelling and labouring for the promotion of truth, and suffering for his testimony thereto, he married in Cornwall, and settled at Austel, in the county. Yet continued in frequent visits to different parts, in the exercise of his ministry; although he escaped imprisonment for some time; after this, he did not escape out of the reach of informers, when they were set to work; for, in the twelfth month, 1681, was the funeral of Benjamin Growden, a man well beloved of his neighbours, many of whom attending thereat, Thomas Salthouse addressed them in a brief exhortation suited to the occasion. Yet upon the oath of two informers, who were there watching for their prey, several present were convicted unheard, and fined for a conventicle, by three justices, Sir Joseph Trevelyan, Joseph Sawle, and William Mohun, among whom Thomas Salthouse was fined 20l. for preaching: for which, shortly after, goods were taken out of his shop to the value of 29l. 9s. 9d. He was again committed to Launceston jail, and with several others for declining to take an oath, was brought to the assizes in the sixth month, 1683, where they were again tendered them, in open court, and upon conviction of refusing it, sentence of imprisonment was passed upon them, under which they were detained in prison near three years, till they were discharged by King James's general pardon.

After his release from this last imprisonment, he continued his visits to his friends, till a period was put to his labours and sufferings, by his removal out of this life, which happened in the twelfth month, 1690, at his house in Cornwall, about the 60th of his age.

He was a man of a good natural capacity, adorned with an excellent gift in the ministry

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cent, the remarkably affable and pleasant in his conversation, which procured him the respectful regard of many others, as well as Friends. He wrote some tracts and others excellent epistles to Friends.

Friends in Ireland still appear less liable to sufferings than their brethren in England, their principal sufferings being for the non-payment of tithes, and the unreasonable costs of recovery in the bishop's courts; on which occasion they petitioned the lord lieutenant and council: but this people being as yet much exposed to great sufferings in England, by the capacity of the informers and otherwise, their brethren in Ireland understanding that many had been the ravages of these informers, and penalties inflicted upon them for their religious testimonies, related to necessitous circumstances, took their case into consideration at their national meeting this year, and recommended a collection towards their relief, to be made by Friends in the several provinces.

In consequence of the prohibition issued by the government of Ireland last year but one, the other dissenters deserted their meeting-houses, and met privately: but the Quakers in this nation, like their brethren in England, continued their public meetings, both for worship and discipline; wherein they were favoured with the increase of peace in themselves, and near unity one with another. Their public meetings were crowded by numbers of other societies, with many of whom their innocent fortitude, in bearing their testimony to the propriety of meeting to worship, according to the persuasion of their consciences, had gained them a good report. While some other dissenters, who met in private, filled their minds to be filled with prejudice against them, principally because they would not desert their public assemblies, as themselves had done.

Amongst the rest, James Barry, an independent teacher in Dublin, published many calumnies against



against this people, upon hearing thereof, some of them applied to him, to give them a public meeting in order to make good his charges, or furnish them with an opportunity of clearing themselves; but he made many excuses, would not give them a hearing, and, notwithstanding, continued his railing against them; by which conduct, instead of gaining his ends, he preached away many of his own hearers who, like the Bereans, came to Friends meetings, to satisfy themselves whether these reflections were true or no; and by the ministry of John Burnyeat and others their prejudices were removed; they were convinced and became serviceable members of the society.

At this time the government having made choice of some Friends to serve offices in corporations, and to act as magistrates, and some few having accepted thereof, though it was not of their own seeking, a paper of tender advice was drawn up by order of a general meeting, to those Friends who had thus engaged.

William Edmundson, some time after his return from America, renewed his travels in various parts of this nation. In his progress, his spirit was deeply affected with an humbling sense of great trials approaching; under the impressions whereof he plain warned Friends and others, in many public meetings, and advised his Friends particularly to contract their concerns in the world, that they might be prepared to receive the Lord in his judgments, and to flee to him for succour, that they might find refuge in his protection.

Soon after, the times began to look threatening to the protestants of this nation, in a much greater degree than in England. The Earl of Clarendon, though the King's brother-in-law, had been removed from the station of lord lieutenant, to make way for the Earl of Tyrconnel, who seemed determined to humble the protestant subjects, and destroy their interest, power, and property; so that the leading men and

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of, some of the protestants, and many others of all ranks, recollecting the cruelties of the Irish in the massacre of 1649, and dreading the repetition of the former barbarities, fled to England for safety, leaving their possessions open to the invasion of their enemies. Every succeeding season presented a succession of depredations and injuries to the protestants, and increased the number of refugees. Tyrconnel proceeded with diligence in establishing the civil government (as well as the military power) in the hands of the Romanists. By this partiality of the government in their favour, the natives of the lower classes assumed a spirit of insolence and abuse, to the increasing terror of the disarmed protestants, who saw no safety but in flight or the shelter of fortresses. A party of Sir Maurice Eustace's troopers committed many violent abuses upon several protestants in and about Mountmelick. Some of them came to William Edmundson's house, and made him a witness in their injurious treatment, taking him by the back of the head, and dragging him about the yard by the neck of their horses' feet, without the least provocation. Some with clubs, and others with pistols cocked, threatened that they would kill him; upon hearing which, his wife was so terrified, that she desired them, "to spare all they had, so that they would spare her husband's life." Report went to Mountmelick that William Edmundson was killed, which made the inhabitants of that town conclude that a general massacre of protestants was determined upon, being persuaded that William Edmundson would give them no occasion. Many protestants fled in consternation to the mountains and woods, to conceal themselves. After these troopers were gone off, William went the next morning to Mountmelick, to confer with the principal inhabitants, who seemed of the opinion, that the violent treatment of protestants was a forerunner of a massacre. William was of a different sentiment, apprehending

apprehending it was rather with design to alarm the English settlers, to induce them to flee to England, that they might get the country and all their substance to themselves, than any intention of a massacre. He advised them to take full examinations of the abuses and petition government; and thereby they might probably make some discovery of their intentions. His proposal being approved, he was desired to undertake the journey, as none else durst. Perceiving this might be conducive to the general security of the neighbourhood, and for the good of his countrymen, he requested two of the townsmen to accompany him, who assented, and next day taking their journey by an unusual road, for fear of being way-laid, they arrived safely in Dublin.

William Edmundson having an interest with Lord Chief Justice Nugent, by his interference procured an audience of Tyrconnel, who appeared to him with his complaint with reluctance, and gave him little encouragement to expect redress from him. Discouraged by his reception here, he resolved to prosecute the matter to the utmost; and with his companions (whose complaints Tyrconnel would not even hear) waited upon Colonel Russel, who was colonel of the regiment to which these troops belonged, and gave him a relation of the abuses they had committed, and the general consternation of the English inhabitants. He, who was a protestant, feeling alarmed at the report, and expressed his apprehension that "if such proceedings met not with exemplary punishment, it was time for every man to look to himself;" but he would go to the duke, and represent against the iniquity of such proceedings. They applied next to Lord Granard, the lieutenant general, who upon hearing their account of great dissatisfaction remarked, that "he was general and no general;" and determined also to remove

\* Colonel Russel soon after went over to England.

to alarm the Lord Lieutenant, Tyrconnel, upon the subject. Tyrconnel applied also to Lord Mountjoy, and others of the principal men among the protestants. By these successive applications, the rumour of their proceedings spread; and Tyrconnel, sending for William, was much displeased, and said, "they had made a great party in the city," and wanted to know if they had their arms ready; to which William replied in the negative. They were then referred to Lord Chief Justice Nugent, before whom they appeared next day, as did also M. Eustace and the troopers, being examined, all denied the fact. William, being asked, if he knew any of them that had joined him, challenged one, who confessed; and the officer, who headed the party, was ordered to discover the rest, which he did; upon this they were disarmed, and sent to Maryborough jail.—William and his companions, apprehending they had betrayed their real intention, returned home.—Towards, at their request, William forgave the officers, and procured their horses and arms to be restored.

That William Edmundson's conjecture was well-founded, appeared manifest by the proceedings of parliament, which was afterwards summoned by James to meet in Dublin. One of their first measures was to repeal the act of settlement, by which the protestants of the kingdom had been excluded from the possession of their estates; and the bill was severely framed, that no regard was paid to the protestant owners, as had purchased estates for considerable considerations; no allowance was made for improvements, nor any provision for protestant tenants; the possessor or tenants were not even allowed to remove their stock and corn. They also passed an act of attainder against all the protestants who were absent from the kingdom, and against all who should retire to any part of the three kingdoms,



kingdoms, which did not own the authority of King James. By these two acts they had gained the point in view, by stripping the protestants present and absent of all their property, and taking it into their possession, if they could have retained power to cure it.

King James deserting England, retired to France where he was hospitably received by Lewis XIV. who assisted him with some forces and a considerable number of officers; arms for the use of his numerous adherents in Ireland; a large sum of money, a fleet and transport ships to land them there, which was effected in the first month of 1689; and in consequence thereof, Ireland became the theatre of a threatening the ruin of all the English protestants and increased the number of refugees into England or into garrisons. The Quakers generally kept their habitations, and kept up their religious meetings, placing their confidence in divine protection, surrounded, as they were, with perils on every side. For they were not only exposed to the depredations of soldiers, but to the more savage devastation of armed banditti, under no restraint, termed Tories, Rapparees, who infested every quarter of the nation.

Notwithstanding the danger of travelling, the nation thus circumstanced, yet such was the zeal of the Friends at this time for the discharge of their religious duties, and such their confidence in the protection of Providence, that all the impending dangers could not prevent them from resorting, from different parts of the kingdom, to the national meeting in Dublin the third month this year, even at the hazard of their lives.

The principal business, which engaged the deliberations of the present and succeeding national meeting, was the distressed condition of their brethren, and the ordering of convenient supplies proportioned to their necessities. They received accounts

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the sufferings of Friends by robberies of soldiers  
others, and the losses sustained by Friends of  
province of Leinster appeared to be above 900l.  
Upon Friends made application to King James,  
received them kindly, and promised that they  
should be protected.

At the succeeding half year's meeting, in the 9th  
month, it appeared, that the losses of Friends being  
increased, those of Leinster and Munster amount-  
ed to above 7000l. No account appears in my au-  
thority from Ulster, which I apprehend, being now the  
theatre of war, must have been the most considerable,  
that Friends, as well as other inhabitants, were  
much alarmed to find leisure to keep regular ac-  
counts of their sufferings, though many of them were  
devoid of all their substance\*.

After King James's arrival in Dublin, and estab-  
lishing a more orderly government, the protestants  
were better settled in their minds, and their fears  
of a massacre began to die away; but they were still  
exposed to great devastation.

King James was at the head of a considerable army,  
possessed of the whole power of the nation for  
several months, before any forces arrived from Eng-  
land to give them opposition.

As the storm of war gathered, the calamities of the  
poor inhabitants, in which number are compris-  
ed the Quakers, increased.

At length an army from England arrived, under  
the command of Duke Schomberg; but the ill-suc-

cess at Cavan (a place that lay open to both armies and to the  
raiders of the rapparees) several Friends kept their habitations,  
and their usual meetings; and though sometimes, in skir-  
mishes between the two armies, many were slain, their lives were  
usually preserved; but of their substance they were spoiled  
entirely stripped, and at last commanded by the chief officer  
of the Irish army to quit their habitations, and their houses  
were set on fire.

cess of the campaign, and the miserable situation the Irish protestants, determined King William take the command upon himself, and attempt the relief. He landed at Carrickfergus in the summer 1695, marched forward without much delay, and came in view of King James's army, which had taken an advantageous post on the banks of the Boyne, to dispute the passage of that river; but the English army having made good their passage, attacked the Irish, and put them to flight.

King James, immediately after this battle, made a precipitate retreat by Dublin to Waterford, and thence embarked for France. He had no sooner quitted Dublin, than it was abandoned by the papal authority under him, whereby the civil government was deserted; and although measures were taken by the bishops of Meath and Limerick to secure the peace of the city, and King William's speedy arrival there secured it, yet anarchy spread through the country, and left the defenceless inhabitants exposed to greater danger in many parts than ever.

The Quakers, having generally kept their habitations, while they had any to dwell in, were sharers in the calamities attendant upon this war. William Edmundson's protestant neighbours being mostly driven from their dwellings, took shelter under his roof, until every room was full, and brought their cattle, which had escaped rapine, to the land, as to a place of greatest safety; but after the battle of the Boyne, parties of the Irish army passing through the country, aggravated by the late defeat, set no bounds to their cruelty; so that the protestants in those parts, after losing most, if not all, of their property, were forced to take sanctuary in other places more secure than private dwellings, to save their lives. For it was now out of William Edmundson's power to protect them.

him

situation of himself from rapacity or violence. In this extremity  
 William's family were forced to go out of the way, and his  
 tempt the was earnest in her solicitations for him to go  
 the sum he also, lest he should fall a sacrifice, being willing  
 delay, venture her own life to save his; but he had not  
 had the freedom to leave his habitation, although now stay-  
 e Boyne, there at the risk of his life. The straggling  
 the Eng- nies of King James's Irish army, and bands of  
 attacked bers, gave the full swing to their vindictive tem-  
 and avaricious rapine; whilst the remaining  
 attle, ma- estants had only to submit in silent sorrow; for  
 rd, and f- as a considerable time before any of the English  
 d no so- y came into this quarter, and when they came,  
 y the pap- e not very active in their protection.  
 ivil gov- in this emergency William Edmundson applied  
 easures w- he principal persons among the Irish, in their  
 Limerick neighbourhood, who staid at home, desiring them to  
 ng William collect that they and (the protestants) had lived to-  
 narchy of er as peaceable neighbours, and wished they  
 celess inh- at do so still. Though at present the English in  
 ay parts neighbourhood lay exposed to the spoil of their  
 countrymen, yet they might easily foresee it would  
 their hab- be like to come to their turn to be obnoxious  
 n, were similar sufferings; for the English army being  
 n this wa- ers in the field, would soon advance, and pro-  
 ghbours b- y revenge the wrongs of their countrymen upon  
 took the . He therefore proposed to them a mutual in-  
 was full, ange of good offices towards each other with  
 rapine, to respective parties; that they should exert their  
 but after- avours to prevail upon their countrymen to de-  
 ish army rom robbing the English of the little they had  
 ated by t- and that when the English army advanced, the  
 uelty; fo- ish protestants should use their influence and in-  
 ng most, if- with them in their favour. This proposa-  
 ke sanct- seemed gladly to accept, and promised with  
 ivate dw- oaths firmly to adhere to it on their parts.—  
 as now ou- their promises and oaths appear to have been  
 otect them a cloak of deceit; no check was given to the  
 him nocturnal



nocturnal depredations of the rapparees, scarce night passing but some of the English neighbours were robbed and wounded; and when William Edmundson reminded them of the obligation of the sacred promise, a plea of ignorance was all the satisfaction he got.

The most considerable family of the Irish in the neighbourhood was those of the name of Dunn, who had they acted sincerely, might, it is thought, have prevented much mischief; but there seemed reason to suspect they encouraged it underhand, and shared in the spoil. King William, soon after his entrance into Dublin, published a proclamation of pardon to all the common people, who had served against him, and declared that the Irish and others, who would live peaceably at home, should not be molested; notwithstanding which, as parties of the Scots and English advanced, they did retaliate upon them. The captains, with a body of near three hundred soldiers, came into the neighbourhood of Mountmelick, drove off abundance of cattle, and took some prisoners, amongst whom was William Dunn and two of his sons, one of whom they had stripped, in order to bring him, under suspicion of his being a rapparee. In this reverse of circumstances, the Dunns sent with an expedition to William Edmundson, to request his interposition; who immediately mounted his horse, overtook the party, reasoned with the officers, and prevailed upon them to relinquish the prey, if their soldiers could be brought to consent. These were greatly enraged, and ready to put all the Irish to the sword; yet William, at the hazard of his life, venturing amongst them, while exasperated at their thoughts of losing their booty, so patiently reasoned the matter, as, with the captain's assistance, to prevail upon them to give up the greatest part of their prey. He also obtained the release of Dunn and his sons, with all their cattle.

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was not on this occasion only, but as often as  
necessity required, that he was ready to interpose  
good offices in favour of his Irish neighbours.

When the campaign was over, the English army  
retired into winter quarters; but the number of rap-  
ines increased greatly; for Lauzun, the French ge-  
neral, went back to France with the auxiliaries of  
the nation, and Tyrconnel with him, to solicit fresh

So that their king, their general, and their go-  
vernor, having left the Irish army under little or no  
government, they also formed themselves into  
separate parties of free-booters or rapparees, and  
ravaged and plundered the country without mercy.—

The English army in the mean time enjoying their  
quietude in their quarters, and not entirely desisting from  
committing the rapine of the enemy, gave little pro-  
tection to the defenceless protestants, who were now  
extremely dreadfully harassed, terrified, and abused, than  
before.

The half-year's national meeting, at Dublin, was  
held, as usual in the 9th month (November) of this  
year, to which Friends from sundry quarters of the  
nation resorted, amidst surrounding perils, they were  
commonly refreshed together, under an humbling  
sense of thankfulness to that divine power which had  
mercifully preserved their lives through so many  
perils, and given them this renewed opportunity  
of rejoicing in seeing one another's faces again in  
company, of strengthening the bonds of gospel fellow-  
ship, of enquiring into and receiving intelligence of  
the state and necessities of their brethren in the dif-  
ferent quarters of the nation, and raising supplies to  
the utmost of their ability; but through the repeated  
ravages they had sustained by continual depredations,  
the members, who had been in affluent or comfortable  
circumstances, were reduced to penury themselves.  
Those who resided in Dublin and other places, gar-  
nisoned with the English, escaped better; and it appears

probable they were in a capacity to spare some of the substance for the relief of the sufferers, and with the people the extension of relief to their friends and others, generally accompanied the capacity to do so.

As early as the half-year's meeting in 9th month last year, the meeting for sufferings in London, commenced a correspondence to enquire into the state, and offer them assistance, as occasion might require. The said half-year's meeting, in reply, acknowledged their tender care, but at that time declined the acceptance of their friendly offer; the several provinces being as yet, notwithstanding the great losses, in a condition to administer the necessary relief; but through the continued loss of their assistance, and general impoverishment of the members of this society, they found themselves under the necessity of accepting the benevolence of their brethren in England; they drew first for 600*l.* and afterwards Friends of England remitted 150*l.* for the relief of Friends of Ulster; and 1060*l.* more was sent from London, which in 1692 was distributed proportionably to each province. A letter was then sent to Friends of London, acknowledging their brotherly kindness, and desiring them to stop any further remittances, hoping upon the resettlement of the nation in peace, to be able amongst themselves to contribute sufficiently to the future necessities of Friends in their nation. So universal was the affection subsisting between the members of this society, that even from Friends of Barbadoes 100*l.* was remitted for the relief of their brethren in Ireland.

By means of these aids, and the protection of Providence, the Friends in Ireland were mostly enabled to weather out the storm, which seemed now at its height. William Edmundson, during his attendance on the half-year's meeting, received intelligence that the rapparees had carried off about twenty of his cows, but that none of his family had received

as soon as the meeting was over, returning home, he had the satisfaction to find his wife and family well; but the times looked still more gloomy; evil and cruelty increased; but although imminent dangers surrounded these parts, he durst not remove to a place of greater safety. He was apprehensive that his removal might discourage his friends and protestant neighbours, and perhaps induce them to flee from their habitations, and thereby be in danger of perishing through want. But, although he had the faith to believe, that one hair of his head would not fall, without the permission of Providence, his stay with them was to be but short.

Of this he seemed to have a foresight: for on the third day of the same month, about ten days after his return, he applied to Colonel Bierly, governor of Mountmellick, and told him, if he did not use some means to succour their quarter, it would be to his own great damage, for he expected every night that his house would be burnt down; that if he gave way, all the protestants thereabout would flee; that then the paperees might destroy all the forage in the country, and thereby distress himself and his garrison. Bierly took little notice of his application, although the occasion was urgent; for that same night William Mundsion's house was beset by several hundreds of these banditti, while the family were asleep, who fired volleys of shot through the windows, which were heard in Mountmellick, two miles off. Upon this several of the inhabitants, by whom William was greatly respected, waited upon Bierly, desiring him to order out a party of men to his relief, which he refused to grant. Then (as William was informed) a lieutenant applied to him for a party of men, saying William was an honest man, and he would relieve him, or lose his life; but Bierly, who would neither take any step to protect a respectable inhabitant from danger, nor to relieve him, when actually assaulted,



answered the lieutenant, "that he would hang that man, that should stir out of the garrison."

The rapparees having set fire to the house, William capitulated upon terms, to which they agreed. But he surrendered to men, insensible to every obligation of conscience. They first fell to pillaging whatever the fire had spared. They left his wife without subsistence, having taken every head of cattle they had. They took William and his two sons prisoners, bare-footed, bare-headed, and almost naked. In this condition they took them in the night some miles through rough thickets, bushes, mire, and water, up to their knees, although in the winter: their legs and feet were hereby much hurt. When they came into a neighbouring wood, they held a council upon them, and sentenced William to be shot, and his two sons to be hanged; he was not afraid to plead his cause, even with these barbarians; told them, that many of them knew him and his sons, and challenged them to prove that they had wronged any, to the value of one farthing through all this time of civil disorder; but, on the contrary, that he had exerted himself to serve them to the utmost of his power; sometimes to the hazard of his life amongst the English soldiers. They acknowledged, "they knew him to be an honest man." Notwithstanding which they hoodwinked his two sons, to put their barbarous design in execution, and having two fire-locks prepared to shoot them, they went about hoodwinking him also; but he told them, "they needed not, for he could look them in the face, and was not afraid to die."

Just as they were about executing their cruel purpose, William Dunn, a lieutenant in the Irish army and son to Captain Dunn before-mentioned, came up and took them from these rapparees, to carry them prisoners to Athlone, the next Irish garrison about twenty miles distant. After he had detained them three days in a poor cottage, in cold and hunger

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he marched them to Athlone. On the way they were met by Richard Dunn and his brother-in-law, who, though so much obliged to William for his friendly services, treated him with railing language; could not repress the symptoms of their malignant joy at his present circumstances, and in exultation told him, they were going to burn Mountmelick, and the rest of the country that had escaped the flames. William commiserated his neighbours, but could not help them; and if this was their purpose, they were prevented from executing it.

When they arrived at Athlone, they appeared again in imminent danger of their lives; a great number of the populace and soldiers gathered about them, and at their head the high sheriff of the county, who stimulated them to mischief, by loading these inoffensive persons with opprobrious epithets, calling them rebels and traitors; so that it was admirable, that they were not stabbed with the bayonets by the soldiers and rabble; but that just then a person of genteel appearance made his way through the crowd, and coming up to William, saluted him with respect, and vindicated him from the sheriff's reflections, calling to him aloud, "I have known him above twenty years, and know him to be an honest man, say what you will of him." This intervention of a stranger to William, was the means of quieting the evil disposition of the sheriff and of the crowd, which William esteemed as help raised in their great danger from among themselves by the direction of Providence. He understood afterwards this man's name was Valentine Toole, a lieutenant in the army, who also acquainted William that Dunn had informed against him.

After some little time they were brought up to the castle before Colonel Grace, governor of the town, and his council of officers, to be examined; before whom William appearing wrapped up in an old blanket (almost his only clothing) the colonel, not

knowing him in this disguise, enquired of him his name and place of residence; to which answering, "I am old William Edmundson;" the colonel, who knew him well, and had been hospitably entertained by him, stood up, and with tears signified his sorrow to see him there in that condition. He then enquired of Dunn, what he had against him; who advanced sundry false accusations, which William refuted clearly to the satisfaction of the colonel and council. At this the colonel grew angry with Dunn, and expressed his resentment at his treatment of so respectable a person.

At Moate, a few miles from Athlone, lived John Clibborn, who was not as yet driven from his habitation, and hearing of William's captivity, came to see him and supply him with provisions; and afterwards, upon becoming surety for his appearance, obtained the governor's consent to remove William and his sons to his house upon parole; and shortly after they were set at liberty.

One of William's sons had a tan-yard well stocked and about a week after the burning of their house while they were in confinement, William's wife thought it necessary to remove the hides and leather to a place of greater safety; and accordingly went accompanied by several neighbours, with horses and carts to assist in removing them. While they were loading the leather, &c. Colonel R. Dunn and his brother-in-law afore said, came upon them with a multitude of rapparees; whereupon the neighbours fled for their lives, and left the horses, carts, and loading, which the rapparees carried off. But an old woman, not being able to escape, they stripped her naked, and left her in that condition to wander home two miles in the month of December, where she caught a cold, of which she never recovered, and died about seven months after. Dunn's perfidy immediately met with exemplary vengeance. For

next morning a party of twenty-five troopers being sent from Mountmelick in pursuit of the plunderers, to whom (I have heard) about eighty of the inhabitants joined themselves, they came up with Dunn and several hundreds of the rapparees, whom they engaged. Dunn and his brother-in-law, with many others, were killed, upon which the rest sought their safety in flight.

After William had obtained his liberty, and was returned into the neighbourhood of his former residence, he was not released from danger, being still the object of the cruel machinations of his popish neighbours, to whom he had been a kind friend.—For so multiplied had the enormities of the bands of rapparees been through the winter, that as soon as the English army could be drawn out of their winter quarters, it was resolved to put a stop to their depredation, by driving them over the Shannon. And Major General Kirk, with part of the army, marched to Mountmelick with intention to settle garrisons in convenient places, to protect the country. Rosenallis was pointed out to him as a convenient place, and information given him of William's sufferings and escape from the papists there. Whereupon he sent for William, and ordered him to attend him to Rosenallis, which at the general's command he did.

In consequence of this, the popish neighbours, who kept their dwellings thereabout under the protection of King William's proclamation; and who, though they kept at home under this protection, harboured the rapparees, conceived a deep but concealed resentment against William Edmundson, whom they causelessly suspected as the author of settling a garrison there, to overawe them from harassing those plunderers, and prevent their sharing in their plunder. Therefore, fully to satiate their vengeance, they procured eight or nine of the most determined of the rapparees, to lie in ambush between Mountmelick, where he dwelt after his house was



burned, and Rosenallis, his former residence, where his land lay, with a determination to murder him. To draw him into the snare, two of his neighbours came to him, requesting him to go to Rosenallis, to speak to the officers of the garrison to be favourable to the inhabitants there, as they centered their hopes of being well-treated in his friendly interposition. But it was providentially ordered that he did not go that day. Two days, after they came again with the same pretence; and now added, that the soldiers were pulling down his out-houses, which had escaped the flames, when his house was burned. They used many arguments, under the veil of kindness and friendship, to persuade him to go; but he writes, "I was restrained by a secret hand, that knew their evil design, and would not suffer me to fall into their snare." The next morning, one James Dobson, with his son and cousin, passing that way, these rapparees shot the son dead in the place, and took the other two into the woods, and there barbarously murdered them. Upon which they fled; and that night the popish inhabitants of this quarter, conscious of the part they had acted, and fearing the punishment due to their crimes, fled also to the rapparees for protection.

Many other Friends, in common with every denomination of protestants, were exposed to the like perils and perfidy. Others, who had staid, generally took refuge in the garrisoned places for their security; but friends kept their habitations, till they were driven therefrom by violence, placing their faith and confidence in divine protection, which, although permitting many of them to be tried with the loss of their substance, miraculously preserved their lives; so that we have no account of more than four that fell by the hands of violence, and two of these forwardly exposed themselves to danger.

Besides the other trying calamities attendant upon

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war, at the return of the army to winter quarters, a mortal distemper overspread the country, which took off many inhabitants of every class. Many also who had lost most, or all of their substance, languished in sorrow till they died.

This year George Gregson of Lisnegarvy (now Lisburn) in the county of Antrim, departed this life. He was born in Lancashire, and educated in the popish persuasion; but was converted to the principles of the Quakers. His conversion raised him many enemies, and much aversion and envy amongst those whose communion he had deserted, who propagated many false and malicious reports concerning him, which he bore with patience; and persevered with unshaken fortitude in the steady pursuit of peace of mind, whereby, growing in religious experience, he received a gift in the ministry.

He travelled in the exercise of his gift in Ireland, and divers parts of England, and was a sufferer for his religious persuasion, both by imprisonment and spoil of goods. He retained his love to God and his brethren to the last period of his life; and at his death left a considerable part of his substance to several meetings in Ireland, and to friends in Lancashire.

In this year also the community at large, and friends of Ireland more particularly, sustained a loss at the removal of John Burnyeat, of Dublin; whose travels and religious labours amongst his friends and others have been recited in various parts of this work.

Amongst his cotemporaries he was greatly beloved, and esteemed for his many excellent qualities and services amongst them, from whom we have received the following account of the last moments of that useful man, whose life was spent in the work of the ministry. During his illness he was preserved clear in his understanding, and in a

fine frame of spirit, being borne up over the fear of death, by the testimony of a good conscience, in the solacing review of the integrity and virtue of his past life. Expressing his lively hope, "That he ever loved the Lord, and the Lord loved him from his youth, and that he now felt his love." He was sensible to the last, and so laid down his head in peace, in love to his brethren, and good-will to all mankind, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and was buried at New Garden.

In 1691, King William appointed General Ginkle to the command of the army, which took Athlone, gave the Irish army a total defeat at Aughrim, and took the city of Limerick, which capitulated upon articles, whereby the war was brought to a termination.

The Quakers, upon the restoration of peace, were very ready to communicate to the indigent.

Those who had been driven from their habitations generally returned to repossess them; and the succeeding national meeting took care, that in every quarter, friends should be supplied for the present with such necessaries as the time and their abilities could afford; and that, in resettling, a competent number might settle near together, so as conveniently to constitute a meeting for divine worship for their mutual edification, and the reciprocal benefit of themselves and their families.

And it is remarkable, that through the whole of this season of danger, they kept up their meetings for worship and discipline, in their accustomed manner, without much interruption from either party, although, they often went to distant meetings through great perils, by reason of the rapparees who in many places beset the roads in ambush, to rob and murder passengers; but Friends resorting to their meetings under persuasion of duty, were mercifully preserved, and their fidelity rewarded with peace of mind, and an increase of spiritual strength.

## A M E R I C A.

MEETING-HOUSE BUILT IN PHILADELPHIA, &c.—EMI-  
GRATION FROM HOLLAND AND GERMANY.

IN 1684, Friends of the quarterly meeting of Philadelphia put in execution the design, of building a meeting-house in that city. At a quarterly meeting held in the sixth month this year, it was concluded to have one built in the centre, between the two rivers bounding the city, which being completed, the meetings were held there, till the bank meeting-house was built. The next year friends of Burlington also built a large commodious meeting-house.

This year James Martyn, from East Acton in Middlesex, crossed the seas on a religious visit to America, where he spent a considerable part of two years; passing through the meetings of his friends in Pennsylvania and other parts of that continent: and being a man of worth and innocency, whose conversation adorned the gospel, his zealous labours were serviceable and acceptable to his friends.

In 1685, an ancient couple, of distinction amongst the Welch colonists, were removed, by death, shortly after their arrival in America, viz. Robert Owen, late of Doleysfevre, near Dolgelly, in Merionethshire, and Jane his wife, whose character, two of their countrymen, John Humphry and Rowland Ellis, who knew them well, both before and after they removed to America, have left us on record, in testimony of their worth, from whence the following abstract is drawn.

They were both well descended, Robert inherited from his father a competent estate, and received a liberal education. After the expiration of the probate, he received a commission as captain of



militia, and governor of Beaumorris, under the committee of safety, which he held to the time of the restoration of King Charles II. and discharged his functions with fidelity. About the time of the restoration, he joined this body of people, although he was partly convinced before. Upon this revolution in the state, he was, with many others, committed to prison, not indeed as a Quaker, but for accepting a commission under the former government; and although he cleared himself of acting under the same, only in compliance with the orders of his superiors, yet the opposite party, exerted themselves to effect his ruin in body and estate. Others imprisoned on the like account, obtained their liberty by the act of oblivion, passed some time after, upon their taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, which our said friend at this time could not do, being in conscience persuaded of the unlawfulness of an oath. He therefore suffered five years close imprisonment, in the town of Dolgelly, about a mile from his own house, whither he was not permitted to go during that time. At last his principal persecutor was visited with a fit of sickness, under which, the remorse of his conscience was such, that he could enjoy neither rest nor ease, until he sent a special messenger to release him.

His wife, Jane Owen, was also honourably descended, her father being in the office of a justice of peace, and a man for integrity conspicuous above most of his rank.

They freely opened their house for the reception of the meetings of their friends, through the hottest times of persecution, whereby they were frequently exposed to sufferings. Although they had a large family, she being the mother of nine sons, they were remarkable for their hospitality, their house and hearth being open to all honest friends, and other sober people. Being very serviceable members of reli-

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under the auspices of civil society, they were greatly respected in their native country. From whence, after they had borne their share of suffering in the heat of the persecution, and had spent a length of years together in near affection, they removed in their old age to Pennsylvania, in 1684, and there died in peace, and were buried within a few days of each other, in the fifth month, 1685.

The general yearly meeting, which for the past four years successively had been held at Burlington, at a meeting in 1683, had been agreed upon to be held alternately at Burlington and Philadelphia. In consequence of this agreement, the first yearly meeting in the latter place, began on the fifteenth of the seventh month this year. Many Friends, from East and West Jersey, expressed their unity and satisfaction, in the present establishment, of one yearly meeting for the three provinces. Amongst other subjects of deliberation, the concerting of some additional measures for preventing all, who went under the name of Quakers, from being concerned in selling rum to the Indians, particularly engaged their attention. This subject attracted the care of the first settlers of this society in both provinces, from the near sense they had of the\* iniquity of this traffic.

These friends, and their European brethren who visited them, exerted their endeavours to cultivate friendly correspondence with the native Indians, in order, by kind treatment, to gain their good opi-

\* At the treaty at Carlisle, in 1753, the Indians say, "The rum ruins us. We beg you would prevent its coming in such quantities. We desire it may be forbidden, and none sold in the Indian country; but that if the Indians will have any, they may go among the inhabitants, and deal with them. When the Whiskey traders come, they bring thirty or forty kegs, and put them before us, and make us drink, and get all the money that should go to pay the debts we have contracted, for goods bought of the fair trader; and by this means, we not only ruin ourselves, but them too."

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nion, thereby to open themselves a way to be more essentially serviceable to them, in bringing them to an acquaintance with the principles of christianity. For this purpose, religious-minded Friends would frequently enter into conversation with them, visit them in their villages, and hold religious meeting amongst them; their discourses being explained by an interpreter to such of them as did not understand English. John Hayton and James Martin, from Europe, who came early on religious visit to Friends in these provinces; William Penn, Samuel Jennings, Thomas Olive, and others of the new settlers, had meetings amongst them, as well as many since from time to time, wherein they used endeavours to inculcate the benefit of a christian life. And in this year a committee was appointed by the quarterly meeting of Burlington, to pay the neighbouring Indians a religious visit, and hold a meeting among them, to which many of the Indians gathered, and quietly attended to what was delivered.

The virtuous examples of these first settlers, and their friendly intercourse with them, were conducted to bring the bordering Indians to a degree of civilization, unknown to those of remoter tribes.

About 1686, many friends, and others from Holland and Germany, arrived in Pennsylvania, who fixing their residence among their friends, contributed to the extension of the town called Germantown, situated six miles north of Philadelphia, which had been begun in 1682. Several of them, I apprehend, emigrated from the Palatinate, in which province many inhabitants had adopted the name of Quakers, whereby they escaped sharing in the succeeding calamities of their country in 1689, when Louis the Fourteenth, in the cruel wantonness of power, caused the fine towns in that principality to be destroyed by fire.

## PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS. 207

The Friends of Philadelphia, in the year 1689, had it in contemplation to establish a free-school; and looking upon George Keith, as a person well qualified to conduct such an undertaking, they engaged him; he continued in this station about a year, and was succeeded by his usher, Thomas Makin.

George Keith's conduct seems, at this time, to be free from any symptoms of a wavering mind; he soon grew weary of every circumstance of life, especially such as was attended with labour and confinement.

Being a native of Scotland, where he received a liberal education (in the national kirk of Scotland,) not only at school, but also at the university at Aberdeen. Of the particulars of his conviction I never was informed, but I find that, in 1664, he went as a minister from the south of Scotland, on a religious visit to Friends at Aberdeen, and was detained in prison there ten months, and Patrick Livingston with him seven months, where they were cruelly beaten and abused by Peter Strachan, son of Andrew Strachan, priest in Kintore, who was confined in the same prison; for which he fell under great trouble of mind, under the sense of his wicked and abusive behaviour to them, fearfully crying out that the judgments of God were upon them, and repeatedly begging their forgiveness before many witnesses.

In the next year, being under a religious concern to bear his testimony to the truth in the great worship-house at Aberdeen, in attempting that service, he was violently assaulted, and knocked down by James Horne, the bell-ringer. Shortly after which, he remarked that the said Horne, going up the steeple to ring the bell, suddenly fell through a hole in the four stories high, and was instantly killed by the fall, upon the same spot where he had beaten George Keith. We find him afterwards amongst the



the number of this persecuted people at Aberdeen involved in confiscations and imprisonment.

He was not only a sufferer in common with his brethren, in testimony to the truth of his profession but exerted his talents in defence thereof both in verbal disputations and in print.

For the greatest part of thirty years had he maintained full unity with the Society, and not the lowest degree of estimation for his service amongst them during which time he never pretended to discover any errors or false doctrines maintained by them though he had the fullest opportunity; but on the contrary publicly vindicated them.

He is said to have imbibed some fanciful notions of Van Helmont about the year 1682, concerning "the transmigration of souls, the resurrection, &c." Finding no room for the propagation of such notions amongst Friends, he is supposed to have let some secret jealousy, which afterwards became a position; first with individuals, and afterwards with the body at large.

Several Friends had been concerned to caution George Keith of the dangerous consequences of confining himself in useless speculations, "and quibbling of words which gender to strife," previous to his removal to America, as I apprehend; when he arrived, keeping his latent notions to himself, or partly disclosing them only to such as could venture to intrust therewith as a secret. He continued openly to profess and vindicate the doctrines of the Quakers, in sundry notable tracts: "The Presbyterian and Independent visible Churches in New England and elsewhere, brought to the test and examined; A Refutation of three Opposers of Truth; The pretended Antidote proved a Poison, or the true Principles of the Christian and Protestant Religion defended, against Cotton, Mather and others; and a serious Appeal to all the moderate, impartial, and judicious People in New Eng-

Vindication of Friends." Yet, in the same year that he published this last treatise, his secret disgust to his friends broke into open contention.

Hitherto Friends had treated with him in a private way, in much meekness and patience; but charging a meeting of ministers with "coming together to cloak heresies, deceit, &c." it was properly judged, that this public insult demanded public reparation, which he contemptuously refusing to make, the monthly meeting of Philadelphia disowned him.

But having drawn a considerable party to join him in his opposition, they set up a separate meeting. This party, by way of distinction, assumed the appellation of "Christian Quakers and Friends." This separate meeting soon published a counter testimony, signed by twenty-eight of them, disowning those concerned in denying George Keith.

He still persevered in opposing Friends; the general meetings thought it their duty to confirm the testimony of the monthly meeting of Philadelphia, whereby they had disowned him. First, the quarterly meeting of ministers held at Philadelphia the 10th of the fourth month, 1692; and afterwards the yearly meeting for Pennsylvania and New Jersey, held at Burlington the 7th of the seventh month following, published their respective testimonies of unity, in the proceedings of the monthly meeting of Philadelphia in this case. So that being now publicly disowned by the meetings, representative of the whole body of Friends in those parts of America where he dwelt, and the meetings of which he was a member; we are now to consider him no longer a member of this society, but as leader of a sect in opposition to them; yet he would still lay claim to the name, alledging his dissatisfaction was only in some unsound Quakers in America; but he remained in unity with Friends in England.

So

So when strangers from Europe or other parts came on religious visits into those countries, he would endeavour to ingratiate himself with them; but as soon as they discovered any dislike to his proceedings, he would give them little better treatment than he did the colonists, calling out several times as they were proceeding in their testimonies. "Hypocrites! hypocrites! &c. &c."

In short, George Keith had suffered his passion to embitter his mind to such a degree, that few, or none, under the name of a Quaker, who did not countenance his proceedings, escaped his calumnies. Since his being disowned, he spent his time about Burlington, Philadelphia, and other places adjacent amongst his disciples, writing his own and their defence, and establishing them as well as he could, in his novel doctrines. But the matter of his being disowned by so many meetings sitting uneasy upon him, he set sail for England in the beginning of 1694, accompanied by his associate, Thomas Burdett, where he arrived in the spring, attended the yearly meeting of London, and desired to be heard. The meeting spent near ten days in reading books and papers relating thereto, and hearing George Keith and his party on one side; and Samuel Jennings and Thomas Duckett on the other, with Thomas Wilson and James Dickenson, just returned from their travels in America. They used endeavours to prevail upon George Keith, with his party, to return into unity with Friends; but, seemingly predetermined either for carrying every thing his own way, or for a separation, he eluded all endeavours for a reconciliation. The more earnest treaty was extended towards him, the more perverseness he discovered, in strengthening himself in his position.

The yearly meeting having fully heard and considered the circumstances of the difference, at length came to this judgment, "That the separation be

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George Keith's door, and that he had done ill in  
nting and publishing those differences as he had  
e;" and therefore the advice of the meeting to  
thereupon was, "to call in those books of his,  
publish something innocently and effectually to  
the body of the people called Quakers, and  
r ministers, from those gross errors charged on  
e few in America, and retract the bitter language  
them, so far as he was concerned, and sincerely  
se his utmost endeavours with his friends to re-  
ve the separation." Which judgment and advice  
g drawn up in writing, was in the meeting de-  
red to him: it was soon after printed by one of his  
y, with very invidious reflections upon it.  
at length he set up a separate meeting at a place  
ed Turner's-hall. The novelty excited the curi-  
y of the people, and at first attracted a crowded  
ence, mostly of such as were of unfriendly disposi-  
s to the Quakers. At the same time he proceed-  
o write against them, but was so closely answer-  
y quotations from his former writings, that, un-  
pretence of inability to bear the expence of  
ing, he shifted his ground, and set up a kind of  
cial court, by his own authority, on a day of his  
appointing, at Turner's-hall aforesaid; giving  
ce by public advertisement, that he intended in  
th month, to hold a meeting at Turner's-hall,  
the purpose of pointing out the errors of the  
kers, and summoned sundry of them by  
e, and others in general, to attend and answer  
themselves: But the Friends looking upon his  
ned authority as an imposition, did not think  
er to take notice of his challenge: yet, lest any,  
might attend upon the occasion should mistake  
ause of their not appearing, as proceeding from  
sciousness of inability to make a proper defence,  
drew up their reasons for absenting themselves,  
sent them to be read there.

George



George Keith soon afterwards published his narrative of the proceedings at this meeting of his appointment, with the usual prejudice of party-mosity, which was answered by T. Ellwood's piece, entitled "an answer to George Keith's narrative of his proceedings at Turner's-hall, where charges against divers of the people called Quakers are fairly considered, examined and refuted," which he made his title good, detecting his duplicity and prevarication so plainly and effectually, that George Keith never replied to it.

He seems to have at last grown tired of a controversy, and therefore declined any further appearance in print against Thomas Ellwood in his own name; but either by his procuration, or from a similar disposition in himself, he met with a confederate in malice. This author, in an anonymous tract under the title of "The Snake in the Grass," proceeded in the line, George Keith had chosen out; but not being under the like restraint, on his part, or most that went before him, in virulent reflections. This piece was published without a name, but was afterwards found to be the work of C. Lessly, a priest.

As he listed himself a volunteer in George Keith's cause, it afforded ground for a suspicion that George Keith was not unconcerned in promoting the cause, if not a co-adjutor therein; for being now disesteemed by the Quakers, and frustrated in his endeavours to draw a party to himself from among them, or to attract any considerable number of others to himself as a leader, he began to ingratiate himself with the ecclesiasticks of the church of England.

\* This book, entitled the Snake in the Grass, did not go unnoticed. The author's misrepresentations were laid open, his fabulous tales disproved, and his crafty imposture manifested in suitable replies, by George Whitehead and John Wyeth, in a book under the title of "A Switch at the Snake."

success

ceeded in his views so far, by vilifying the Quakers, and raising expectations of the service he should be of, in bringing over many of that people to the established church, that about four years after he was ordained priest by the bishop of London\*, and employed as a curate. In 1702 he was sent as a missionary to America, in treating whereof we shall treat with him again.

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## C H A P. VIII.

ACCOUNT OF THOMAS STORY AND STEPHEN CRISP—APPLICATIONS FOR AN AFFIRMATION ACT.—DEATH OF MARY.—BILL FOR RECOVERING SMALL TITHES, &c.—A SPIRIT OF PERSECUTION REVIVED.

In the year 1691, Thomas Story joined himself in society with the Quakers, whose conviction was not owing to the ministry of any instrument; but to the immediate operation of the grace of God on his own heart, of which himself hath given a remarkable narrative in his journal.

He was born near Carlisle, in the county of Cumberland, where he had the advantage of a liberal

education. Alexander Arscott, in his *Serious Considerations*, tells us that Burnet, speaking of George Keith, saith, "that he is in the year 1700, "in holy orders among us, and like to do good service in undeceiving and reclaiming some of the misguided enthusiasts." But what if it should appear after that he deeply repented of what he had done? I shall relate what has come to my knowledge, and leave the reader to judge of the truth of it. The fact as related is this: that one Richard Hayler of Sussex made a visit to George Keith on his return, which visit was kindly taken by him; and among the things that passed, George Keith expressed himself in the following words, viz. "I wish I had died when I was a Quaker, when I am sure it would have been well with my soul." I have from a person now living, of unquestionable reputation, who had it from the widow of the said Richard

education,

education, being designed by his father for the study of the law. He received his education, as to religion, in the church of England; but having some doubts of the propriety of the ceremonies used there, he declined the public worship; but not with a design to join himself to any sect. For he was apt to conclude, from what he had observed, that these inward manifestations were peculiar to himself, and that there was not any people, with whom he might properly associate.

In this state of his mind, he was led into a consideration of the states of many persons in the nation, of different ways of worship, as also among the dissenters of various denominations; for, although he received his education in the church of England, he had no attachment to any class professing the Christian name; he occasionally heard several sorts, but did not approve any sect in all things, as he came to consider them closely; yet, observing many, who seemed men of sincerity, and to have good intentions in their respective modes of worship, he began to question whether it might not be through his own ignorance for want of the true knowledge of God heretofore, that he did not enjoy his presence among them, as he had done in his retirement; and therefore determined to go again and see, and accordingly he went to the public worship at a place called St. Overt's, in Carlisle, and although he retired in his mind, to feel after the divine presence, as he was wont to do, in his solitary waiting, he found himself veiled in darkness, and encompassed in trouble to that degree, that it was only in regard to decency he could prevail upon himself to tarry till their worship was ended; which being over, he returned to his chamber in trouble, and went not among any more. But though he declined all outward worship; determining to follow the Lord, where ever he might see good to lead him; yet he

mind cloathed with universal charity to all mankind.

In this solitude, at a certain time, the Quakers were suddenly, and with some surprise, brought to mind, with an impression sufficiently deep, to inspire a secret inclination to enquire after their principles and manner of worship.

In the fifth month, 1691, meeting with a member of that society, and enquiring of him concerning the points of their religion, he perceived no material difference between their sentiments and his own, and being invited to accompany him next day (on the first day of the week) to their meeting at Woughton, he readily complied.

From this time, he continued to attend their meetings, as he had opportunity, and was not long, on the following occasion, openly to acknowledge himself a member of their society, although so generally despised.

At the assizes at Carlisle, an acquaintance applied to him, in regard to a suit he had to come on the next day for the greatest part of his property: and Thomas being the only witness to the deeds of conveyance, he could at present procure, he desired not to fail giving his attendance at the court the next morning. Thomas, in answer to his request, said, "I am concerned it should fall out so," (he had a friendly regard for the man, and saw the case was very hard); "but I will appear, if it please God, and testify what I know in the matter, and do what I can for you in that way; but I cannot do more." This answer got the better of the man's passion, so far as to make him in a passion reply, on oath, "What! you are not a Quaker sure!" He had neither hitherto received from others, nor applied himself this appellation, nor as yet saw how he had so much unity with all their tenets, that might justify him in adopting the name, he continued



tinued silent and attentive to the truth in his own mind, till clear in his understanding what answer to make, and then he said, "I must confess the truth. I am a Quaker."

This plain confession increased his peace, and his acquaintance's perplexity, whose case appeared to him hereby rendered desperate; so that in the height of his passion he threatened to have Thomas fined, and proceeded against with the utmost rigour of the law; "What! must I lose my estate for your groundless notions and whims?" Thomas Story was not free from anxiety in consequence of this menace, under the probable prospect of fining and imprisonment, and of little help from his father or friends, but rather of their displeasure at such an unaccountable scruple, as it would appear to them. After some time of silent meditation he felt strength to resign himself to the divine disposal, under the consciousness of a good intention, and therein found his anxiety vanish, and his mind centre in serenity. And next morning, as he was going up to the court-house, in expectation of being called as a witness in the case aforementioned, he met his acquaintance in a very different disposition from that in which he had left him the night before; for, with a cheerful countenance, denoting friendship and affection, he said, "I can tell you good news; my adversary hath yielded the cause, we are agreed to my satisfaction."

He continued diligently to attend the meetings of this people, and some years after his joining the society, he received a gift in the ministry him, and devoted much of his time to travelling in the exercise thereof, for the edification of his brethren and the convincement of others, in most parts of the British dominions, on both sides of the Atlantic\*.

\* For further particulars, see a Journal of his Life, &c. W. Phillips, London.

In this year Stephen Crisp of Colchester terminated a life successfully employed in propagating the doctrines of truth, as held by the Quakers, amongst whom he was distinguished for his labours in the ministry, and for his eminent qualifications for service. He was born at Colchester in Essex, in 1628, where he received his education. From an early age he had a religious turn of mind, and became an attentive hearer of those reputed the best ministers. He went from preacher to preacher, and from one society to another, till wearied out with his fruitless search, he detached himself from connection with every visible society; but wandered up and down, visiting sometimes one sect, sometimes another. Taking delight in mirthful company, and indulging himself in a participation of their pleasures; the reproofs of the monitor in his own breast followed him with strong convictions, and finally put a stop to his deviation. He then renewed his enquiries of the kind of professors and another, and how peace and assurance might be attained. Amongst the rest, falling in with the Baptists, they told him the only way was to be obedient to the commands and ordinances of Jesus Christ; to imitate the primitive saints; to walk in church order and communion, where every one had the strength of many; and all the church are bound to watch over every member. To these sentiments he yielded assent, joined them in communion, and submitted to their mode of baptism, expecting to attain thereby greater power over sin than before; but found it not to be the baptism which now saveth, being only a washing away of the filth of the flesh; which conveyed not the ability he was looking for, to attain the essential part, "the answer of a good conscience toward God;" and though he loved much in the strength of his own will and freedom, to subdue his inclination to levity, and by more sober conduct to contribute to the reputation

tion of the religion he had chosen, that he might not appear to have changed all in vain, yet he still felt that he continued to want power to gain the victory over his corruptions.

This was about the time that the Quakers became the subject of conversation; he could hear no good report of them, only they were universally the objects of scorn and persecution; and that they were remarkable for bearing the injuries, to which they were exposed, with patience. This seemed to have a different effect upon him from what it had upon many of those he conversed with; for he was in expectation that when the way, which he looked for as more perfect, than what he had hitherto found should be discovered, it would be hated and persecuted: whereby he was influenced with a strong desire that some of the ministers of that denomination might visit their parts, as he heard they had done other parts of the nation; and it was not long before James Parnel came to Colchester, in 1655, whose ministry and conversation Stephen Crisp was effectually convinced, as hath been already related. He became in due time qualified for service in the church, first in the discipline, and in the care and oversight of the poor, which care he discharged with fidelity, both in administering advice and relief; and afterwards in the work of the ministry, in the exercise whereof he was zealous and diligent, travelling much abroad. His first visit was to Scotland, where he arrived in the ninth month, 1659, and travelling through various parts of that country in winter, foot, his labour was not in vain, several being converted thereby: he returned to England by the western road, through Westmoreland, Lancashire, &c. and had made his way from home through Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, and arrived safe at his own habitation in much thankfulness to that power, whose presence had attended him, and whose providential arm preferred

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## PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS. 219

served and restored him in peace and safety to his  
e and children, after an absence of five or six  
nths.

He divided his future time between his outward  
upation and the requisite care of his family, and  
filling up his service in the cause of religion, as  
felt the impulse of duty. His succeeding tra-  
were frequent through the greatest part of his

He visited the northern, western, and other  
s of England, several times; and crossed the  
man ocean no less than thirteen times, on reli-  
as visits to Holland and Germany, which the  
nds of these parts esteemed a favour of Divine  
vidence, that just about the juncture of time in  
ch they were deprived of the services of William  
on and William Ames, Stephen Crisp, under  
mpulse of love and duty, should be drawn to  
them. His attention to the concerns of society  
e remarkably conspicuous, not only in his pub-  
ministry, but in his visits to private families and  
ecular persons; but he frequently employed his  
for the spreading of the principles of truth,  
for the refuting of misrepresentations and ca-  
nies raised against it. His doctrine at first was  
ounded by an interpreter, but afterwards he at-  
ed a knowledge of the Low Dutch language,  
reby he was qualified to preach to them in their  
tongue. When the fifth-monarchy-men made  
insurrection, he was at that time travelling in  
county of Durham, and being at a meeting at  
on Townsend's in Norton, was taken thence by  
ain Bellasise with a party of soldiers, (with six  
Friends, and cast into prison, two hundred  
s from home) as were many others, to the num-  
of an hundred; some taken from their work in  
fields, others from inns on their travels. Here  
as detained in prison till released by the king's  
clamation the next year, 1661. In the same



year he was apprehended at a meeting at Harwich and by a justice of peace, who had ordered his minutes to be written before his examination, committed to prison. In 1663 a grievous persecution of this people broke out at Colchester; where William Moore, mayor, exerted the utmost of his authority to oppress them, and on the 25th of October forcibly broke up the meeting, and committed Stephen Crisp and John Pike to prison; but how long he was detained in these two last imprisonments I have no account. In the beginning of 1670 he was again imprisoned at Ipswich in Suffolk, at the instigation of a priest, who had contrived to get him imprisoned about two years before; he was now committed on the act of the 14th of Charles II. Upon his trial the judge condemned him in the penalty of 5*l.* and imprisonment till he should pay the same; but afterwards recognizing his error, he sent an order for his release at the expiration of three months, according to the act of parliament. In the latter part of the same year a new act against conventicles coming in force, he was taken by soldiers from a meeting at Horslydown, in London, and fined 5*l.* for preaching there.

He was not only charitably engaged in a religious care over the members of the society for their preservation from evil, and encouragement in well-doing, but actively assistant to his friends and others, especially widows and orphans, by advice and otherwise, in the management of their outward affairs, for which he had a capacity beyond many.

Having spent a life of devotion to the service of God and man, he was well prepared for his transition to a better. Having been much afflicted with the stone, his disorder gathering strength, he suffered great bodily pain, which he bore with exemplary patience to the last. To one who visited him, a day or two before his decease, he said, "Serve the

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last.

Harwic the simple truth's sake, and it will preserve thee  
ed his m at hath done me." He departed this life at Wandf-  
n, comm rth in Surry, the 28th of the 9th month, 1692, in  
secution e 64th year of his age.

re Willia The society of Friends, still subject to many in-  
is author veniencies, by reason of their scruple to take  
October fo oath, were encouraged by the apparently mode-  
ted Steph e temper of the times, to apply to parliament for  
ow long ef, praying that a bill might be enacted, by which  
nents I ha ir solemn affirmation or negation might be admit-  
ne was ag instead of an oath. The petition was read, and  
e instigati erred to a committee, who reported, "Upon the  
m impriso ole, it is the opinion of this committee, that the  
v commit akers ought to be relieved according to the prayer  
pon his tr their petition."

y of 5l. a The opponents of the bill found means to pre-  
ame; but et it from passing this session. Friends renewed  
ent an on ir application the succeeding year, and having  
e months, own up a state of their case, in respect to oaths,  
the latter y presented it to the members of parliament.

conventi After the perusal of which several members of  
liers from iament discovered a more friendly regard to  
and fined r petition; yet the house came to no resolution  
avour of their request. In the following year,  
ed in a rel 6, they renewed their application with better  
ciety for t efs.

ement in w his year Queen Mary was taken off by the  
nds and oth ll pox\*; upon her death the zealous partisans  
vice and o the late King James, on the supposition that the  
utward aff rest of William was considerably weakened by  
many. removal, renewed their efforts for his restora-  
o the servio , both by an application to the French King, to  
for his tran

n afflicted e She was a woman not more eminent for her elevated rank  
gh, he suff e, than for her personal embellishments, intellectual en-  
a exemplary gents, and virtuous dispositions. In her sickness, undaunt-  
ed him, a d ne awaited her change with a perfect resignation to the  
Serve the e last, and continued in that Christian resigned temper

enable James to make a descent upon England, and also by a plot at home to assassinate King William which designs, being timely discovered, were defeated.

First, the two houses of parliament entered in an association, to defend King William's life and government; and in case he should come to a violent death, to revenge it upon his adversaries and their adherents. And as this association was subscribed by people of all ranks, the people called Quakers whose conscientious principle against taking arms prevented their subscribing, thought it expedient to manifest their loyalty and fidelity to the King by drawing up and publishing a declaration; which they solemnly and sincerely declare, that hath been their judgment and principle, from the first day they were called to profess the light of Christ Jesus, manifested in their consciences, that the setting up and putting down kings and governments is God's peculiar prerogative, for causes best known to himself; and that it is not their work or business to have any hand or contrivance therein, nor to be busybodies in matters above their station; much less to plot or contrive the ruin or overturning of any government; but to pray for the king, and for the safety of the nation, and good of all men, that they may live a peaceable and quiet life, in all godliness and honesty, under the government which God is pleased to set over them; many other reasons they gave in their said declaration for not subscribing, concluding in these words.

"And whereas we, the said people, are required to sign the said association; we sincerely declare that our refusing so to do, is not out of any dissatisfaction to the king nor government, nor in opposition to his being declared rightful and lawful king of these realms, but purely because we cannot, without

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## PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS. 223

conscience sake, fight, kill, or revenge, either for ourselves or any man else."

"London the 23d of the first month called March, 1695-6".

At this time many Friends were prisoners, and others under prosecutions for non-payment of tithes, &c. and some long detained in prison upon *contempts*, because they could not answer priests bills and complaints upon oath. Friends of the meeting for sufferings, in London, taking this matter into consideration, thought it expedient to draw up a state of the case, and present it to the king, who received them in a private apartment, where he was alone\*, and enquired of them what places they belonged to? of what congregations they were ministers? This furnished George Whitehead with an opportunity to inform him, that they were not settled as ministers over any particular congregations, but visited their friends meetings, as the Lord inclined them: that they did not receive stipends or hire for preaching; that he preached the gospel freely, according to Christ's command. The king made no reply, but appeared serious, and satisfied with the answer.

With the king's approbation, a copy of the petition was also delivered to the lord keeper, Somers, who signified his readiness to comply therewith, as far as the law would admit; assuring them that the king was really principled in favour of liberty of conscience, as he was also. And in a short time after, an act of grace was passed, whereby about forty

This case and petition was presented to the king by George Whitehead, Gilbert Latey, Thomas Lower, John Taylor, and Daniel Quare; the latter of whom being known to the king, had access to him, and obtained admission to his presence for the first; he previously enquiring "who they were, and in what parts in the society;" Daniel told him, "they are ministers and elders amongst us."



Friends in prison on the forementioned accounts were restored to liberty.

William Penn in the course of last year paid a religious visit to several of the western counties, and had meetings almost daily in the most considerable towns, which were greatly crowded, and in many places were held in the town-hall, as the only place capable of containing the numbers who flocked to hear him. And in this year, repeating his visit to the same quarter, some inhabitants of the city of Wells, from the accounts they had of his public meetings, last year, in most of the neighbouring towns, expressed a desire that he might appoint a meeting there also. He went thither accordingly, and John Whiting and Robert Holder went to seek a suitable place, and also to give information thereof to the bishop, according to the prescription of the act of toleration, which appeared afterwards to be a measure of expediency; after they had got a grant of the market-house, the clerk of the market being dissuaded by some persons who were unfriendly, retracted his promise, and when they came at the time appointed, refused them admittance, whereupon they concluded to hold the meeting at their inn, and took care previously to certify it all to the bishop. The meeting was held in a large room with a balcony to the street; the room was quickly filled, and there was also a great concourse in the street; so that for the conveniency of the auditory, William Penn placed himself in the balcony, and thence preached to the people; but in the middle of his declaration, he was interrupted by officers from the mayor with a warrant, who could not be prevailed upon to wait till he had done, although desired, but forced him away instantly before the magistrates, who, upon examination, finding the house was certified, and that by disturbing a lawful assembly they had exceeded their commission, they excused

he matter as well as they could, and presently dismissed him.

These magistrates afterwards threatened the inn-keeper to fine him for a conventicle held in his house, but the bishop's certificate of the due notice being produced, secured the man from their designs.

Friends after this hired a house in Wells for a meeting place, and William Penn came thither again, and had a meeting to good satisfaction. Several other meetings, and the quarterly meeting for the county, were afterwards held there.

1695. Friends of the meeting for sufferings in London renewed their application to parliament, for accepting the solemn affirmation of the members of their society, instead of an oath: they appointed a committee to solicit the members in favour of the petition, and to procure the passing of a bill for the relief of Friends. They shewed copies of the petition to many of the members, to furnish them pre-eminently with a clear understanding of the nature of the case, and to shew them the necessity of affording relief, by reason of the hardships to themselves and others, for want of power to give legal evidence, without injuring their consciences.

They applied to Edmund Waller, esq. to take in a petition; which he cheerfully undertook, moved for reading thereof, and for leave to bring in a bill, that the solemn affirmation, &c." which motion was carried by a great majority, and leave accordingly given. In the house of lords, the bishops endeavoured to frustrate their application, by changing the form of the affirmation into a solemn oath. This was represented by some of the peers to Friends in writing, who requesting that some alterations might be made, they returned into the house, resumed the debate, and the bill passed; though not quite satisfactory to Friends.

This act, which was for seven years, was, at the expiration, continued for eleven years longer, and afterwards in the year 1715 made perpetual; but the terms of the affirmation\* being still uneasy to many Friends, who conscientiously scrupling the use thereof, as in their opinion approaching too near the nature of an oath, by reason of an implied appeal to God for the truth, applied for an amendment thereof in 1721, and obtained their request.

Whilst King William was studiously endeavouring to relieve the Quakers from the hardships to which they were exposed, the high-church ecclesiasticks were contriving to bring them under the lash of a fresh penal law. A bill was brought into the house of lords about this time, by the bishop of London, and warmly promoted by him, for the better payment of church-rates, small tithes, and other church dues; whereby the penalties of the act of Henry VIII. for the recovery of predial tithes, were extended to small tithes, repairing public places of worship, and even the demands of the clerk and sexton; so that, for a trifling demand of perhaps less than a shilling, any person might be subjected to the enormous expence of a suit in the ecclesiastical courts.

A bill of this tendency must necessarily awake the attention of the meeting for sufferings in London. Having previously procured a copy of the bill and prepared some exceptions to it, and having notice of the day appointed for a committee of the lords to sit upon it, some friends of London were admitted to an audience of the said committee. The bishop of London being chairman, interrogated them what reason they had to except against the bill? To which George Whitehead replied, the same reason

\* "I do declare in the presence of Almighty God, the verity of the truth of what I say."

was, at the longer, and perpetual; but all uneasy to abolishing the use too near the applied appeal amendment. The temporal lords were very civil during the conference, and after much discourse, the bishop asking if they had any exceptions to offer in writing, was answered in the affirmative, and produced their exceptions: the bill was afterwards laid aside.

A treaty of peace was concluded at Ryswick this year (1697) between England, France and Holland, whereby the nation was relieved from a long and extensive war, and K. William acknowledged by Lewis XIV. as king of Great Britain, who also engaged not to disturb him in the possession of his government, nor assist his enemies, nor favour conspiracies against his person. Addresses of congratulation thereupon being sent up from most or all other societies of protestants; this society also presented an address to the king.

The Quakers, although they now enjoyed the exemptions of the act of toleration, did not enjoy them unmolested. Sundry ecclesiasticks and others, who denied them the liberty with which they were favoured, united their exertions to deprive them thereof. The first effort about this time was made by some priests of Norfolk, at the instigation of one Francis Bugg, who formerly made profession with the Quakers, and had apostatized from them some years before, whether with William Rogers and the separatists of that day, or before, I find no certain account.



These Norfolk priests commenced hostilities by a challenge to a public meeting in their parish, at West Deerham, where some Friends of London and of the country met them; the priests had got many books written by some of the society, and endeavoured from thence to draw injurious conclusions; which they could not make good, nor gain the advantage they expected and aimed at in this dispute.

Being disappointed in their hopes in this verbal controversy, they then took up the pen, and published two tracts, entitled, 1st. "A Brief Discovery, &c." 2d, "Some few of the Quakers many horrid Blasphemies;" and now discovering their real intention, they presented these tracts to the parliament, or members thereof, to prepare the way for their further attempts.

These books met with suitable answers by George Whitehead, wherein their ungenerous aims were detected, and their injurious assertions refuted; and copies of this answer were also delivered to the members of parliament, to obviate any ill impressions from their misrepresentations.

But as these answers could not be printed off so expeditiously as the exigency required, a brief remonstrance, drawn up, was in the mean time printed, and handed to the members of parliament.

Notwithstanding which, these priests and their assistant, Francis Bugg, not contented with vilifying the Quakers in print, procured an invidious petition to the commons, replete with general invective against this people, accusations without ground and calumnies which they could not prove. Two priests, John Meriton and L—— Topcliff, attended the parliament, to solicit the introducing of the petition into the house; but the times were now changed, and more liberal sentiments in respect to religious liberty generally adopted: a copy of the petition was shewn to several of the leading members

parliament, who perceiving the tendency of it was, make void the act of toleration, they resolved accordingly to set their faces against the petition; the petitioners put it into the hands of the members of the county, who were brought into a disagreeable dilemma, under the prospect of either disobliging the clergy of their own county and their partisans, or taking a part contrary to their own judgment and the general sentiments of the house; but, after due deliberation, they prudently withheld the petition, as thinking it in vain to make a motion in favour of a measure which they were sensible would be immediately rejected.

A petition of the like tendency was also drawn up by the magistrates of Edmundsbury, in Suffolk. After the care of friends respecting the Norfolk petition, they had little trouble about this; for the Suffolk members had with others declared their aversion to the principles of the former petition, and therefore would not violate their own judgments so far as to introduce it into the house; but prudently suppressed it.

This society, in London in particular, was deprived of the services of a very valuable member in the person of Charles Marshall, by profession a Chemist, who had fixed his residence for several years past in the city. He was born in Bristol, 1637, and his parents, being persons of virtuous dispositions, gave him a good education. Whilst yet a child, he took delight in reading the scriptures, and conceived an abhorrence of swearing, lying, and other immoralities; and at his tender age, his mother was careful to take him along with her to the meetings of the Independents, which he frequented. As he grew in years and experience, he perceived that many of these people departed from the pure principle of light and grace, into lifeless and empty profession; wherefore he became dissatisfied with them,

them, and left them, spending much time in retirement, but consoled with some other seeking people who spent one day in the week in fasting and prayer.

This was about 1654, when John Camm and John Audland, having travelled to Bristol, visited this select society in their meeting, when, by the ministry of John Audland, Charles Marshall was effectually convinced.

Through a long series of inward exercises, he received a dispensation of the gospel to minister to others in 1670, and, by his labours and travels, was instrumental to convince many, and convert them to righteousness, continuing a faithful minister to the last.

In the same year he commenced his travels in the work of the ministry, first through the neighbouring counties, and travelling till the year 1672, visiting most parts of England, and what at that time was remarkable, he met with no interruption by imprisonment or from informers. But he was twice seized high unto death, and passed through many difficulties. Once, having the sands to cross near Ulverston in Lancashire, he came in company with several others to the river side, where they were informed by two persons, who lived on the other side, that they might get over in safety; but he found a flaw in his own mind, and standing still, he received intelligence, which he understood to be a divine warning, "that if any attempted to go at that time they would perish;" and in about an hour the river overflowed the sands, which were several miles over, whence they concluded, if they had gone at that time, they would have lost their lives.

Although he seems to have escaped imprisonment and personal injury beyond most of his friends, he did not escape entirely. Being at a meeting at Claverham, in Somersetshire, in the 10th month 1674, some justices came to break up the meeting

one of whom, Francis Pawlet of Wells, as he was concerned in prayer, laid violent hands on him, to pull him through the rail of the gallery, and gripped him by the side so rudely and so hard as caused him to spit blood, and haled him out of the meeting, whereby he received a contusion, of which he continued long after.

He was a considerable sufferer, for his testimony against tithes, in the loss of his goods. In 1682, whilst resident at Tetherington in Wiltshire, he was prosecuted for tithes by John Townshend, priest of that parish, in consequence whereof he was arrested, brought before the barons of the Exchequer, and committed to the Fleet prison, where he was confined for two years. The priest growing uneasy in his mind, came in person to the prison, released him, and soon after died. Upon his release he fixed his domestick residence in London; but was frequent in his visits to his native city, Bristol, and places adjacent, as well as several other parts of England.

Through many trying exercises of body and mind, he continued his travels in the work of the ministry for the greatest part of twenty years. His last journey was to Bristol and the western counties, after his return from which he was visited with a lingering indisposition, which proved mortal, contrary to the opinion of his physicians, but not to his own. Even before his illness he seemed to have a presage of his approaching end, for some little time before he presigly requested an intimate friend to take a ride with him, having something of moment to impart, and when they were gone a few miles out of London, he told him, "he was satisfied the time of his departure drew near, and therefore he was desirous to have an opportunity to discourse with him between themselves about some particulars before he died." And when, soon after this, he was seized with indisposition,



disposition, though he remained settled in opinion that he should not recover; yet this fixed persuasion of his mind was attended with no fearful apprehensions of his future well-being; having passed a life of faithfulness, integrity, and extensive benevolence he felt, in the assured prospect of his approaching change, that the work of righteousness was peace and the effect thereof quietness and assurance for ever.

Being advised to go into the country for the benefit of the air, he chose to be removed to John Paley's, near the river side, a friend for whom he had an affectionate esteem; he lay ill about four months in great weakness, yet his senses and understanding were preserved to him clear and sound to the last.

As his last moments approached, he *closed his eyes with his own hand*, with composure of mind, as if from whom the sting of death was taken away, and resigned his soul to God who gave it, the 15th of the 9th month 1698, in the sixty-second year of his age.

In 1699, John Crook, mentioned before in this work, departed this life; he was a man of literature of a good estate and rank in life, and in the commission of the peace for Bedfordshire, where he resided: he was early convinced by the ministry of William Dewsbury in 1654, about the 37th year of his age, soon after which his commission was taken away. He had an excellent gift in preaching, and was careful to adorn his ministry by a circumspicious conversation coupled with the fear of the Lord. He was several times imprisoned on account of being at meetings, &c.\*

While his health admitted, he travelled for edifying his friends in different parts of the nation, but mostly in Bedfordshire, and was instrumental

\* See Bessie's sufferings for the particulars.

convincement of many of the truth which he  
to deliver; but in his latter years, being disabled  
travelling far by a complication of painful ma-  
ies, he resided at Hertford, and spent much of  
time in that town and county.

His indisposition growing upon him with his ad-  
vancing years, especially the stone, proved a severe  
ill. In all the severity of his pain he was never  
down to utter an unfavourable expression or impatient-  
to cry out. And when the extremity of his fits  
over, he would thankfully express the inward  
peace of mind which he enjoyed; beside the bodily  
affliction with which he was tried, he was not ex-  
empt from trials of another kind, in observing the  
degeneration of some of his offspring\* from the ways  
of righteousness. He continued in a solid and  
Christian frame of mind to the last period of his life,  
which was terminated the 26th of 2d month 1699,  
the 82d year of his age.

This year (1700) put a period to the life of King  
James, who died at the palace of Germaines in France  
the 17th September, and upon his death his son, by  
order of the French king, was proclaimed king of  
British dominions.

He left behind in writing, an epistle of counsel to his chil-  
dren and grand-children, in which are the following expres-

"I have seen much in my days, and I always observed, that  
the fear of the Lord God proved the best portion, and those that  
were devoted in it were the only happy people, both in this life (while  
they continued faithful) and when they come to die, though  
they meet with many hardships in their passage. By experi-  
ence I can speak it, that the ways of holiness afford more true  
comfort and peace to the upright soul, than the greatest plea-  
sures this world can afford; the former reaches the heart and  
endures, while the delights of this world are but a shew, and ap-  
pearance only, vanishing like a dream; and whoever believes  
the promise of them, will certainly find them to be but lying  
vanities."

As

As the parliament had just settled the succession the crown in Sophia, electress of Hanover, and her heirs, in case of the death of king William and the princess of Denmark without issue, this interference of a foreign prince, to assign another king to England than they chose for themselves, roused the general indignation of the people. Addresses were sent up from all quarters expressive of gratitude for the revolution, and loyalty to the king and the house of Hanover. Upon this occasion the people called Quakers also, who had heretofore chief complaints of grievances to lay before their ruler from most of which they were effectually delivered by the present sovereign, thought themselves called upon, in point of duty and gratitude, to wait upon him soon after his return from Holland with an address, which was favourably received by the king who, in answer, replied, "I have protected you and shall protect you." But it being some days before it made its appearance in the *Gazette*, some news-writers, in the intermediate time (as had been done in the beginning of King James's reign) fabricated a very ridiculous piece, purporting to be an address of the people called Quakers to the king in which the expressions are represented to be blunt and unmannerly, as bespoke audacity and insolence, rather than the simplicity of the Quakers; but the real address, being soon after published, detected the forgery.

King William's health having been some time in the decline, a fall from his horse hastened his dissolution: he departed this life at Kensington the 8th day of the month called March 1702, in the 52d year of his age; leaving deep impressions of gratitude to his memory in the minds of many of his subjects.

Peace being restored to this nation, plenty and prosperity quickly followed. And now a second generation arising amongst this society, who held the

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profession as the religion of their education, and not by the purchase of giving up all for its sake, as their predecessors had done, too many of these appeared in danger of being drawn aside by the tempting prospect into an inordinate pursuit of wealth.

Many admonitions and exhortations from their meetings of discipline were sent forth for exciting friends to vigilance, and to keep within the limits of pure religion in their temporal engagements. In this pious concern they were encouraged by the consolation with which they were favoured therein, and endued with wisdom in directing their measures for preventing the progress of this worldly spirit; so that their zealous endeavours were attended with a good effect.

In 1693, an application to the parliament of England, requesting their indulgence to the Quakers, in accepting their solemn affirmation instead of an oath, was first undertaken by Friends of that nation, which, when their brethren in Ireland understood, they took the freedom of writing an epistle on the subject, to the meeting of sufferings in London; for, when the government of England was pleased to favour them

in 1695 with an act of parliament, prescribing a form of an affirmation instead of an oath; although it was rather dissatisfactory to many Friends in Ireland, by reason of the sacred name being comprised therein, which they considering as an appeal to the Divine Being, thought it bordered too near upon an oath, and were not free to use it. Others, less scrupulous, gratefully accepted the favour, conceiving it only in the light of a solemn affirmation. This difference of judgment, however, was productive of no dissension; but the spirit of mutual forbearance appeared conspicuously amongst the members of this society at this time. Those who scrupled the use thereof, notwithstanding judging those who were free to use it, and the latter sympathising in the difficulty under which the



the tenderness of their consciences brought others of their brethren, were earnestly disposed to co-operate with them in procuring an universal ease to all the members. When they met at the next yearly meeting of London, an edifying harmony appeared amongst Friends of both nations, and it was resolved unanimously to solicit government, for granting a form of affirmation, which might be easy to all.

As this society became numerous in that nation the advantage and necessity of a salutary discipline had become obvious, and was immediately adopted by Friends there, upon the notice of its being established by their brethren in England, and without any of that opposition, which occasioned so much trouble to their said brethren; the benefits of brotherly care for each other, during the late war, having been evidently manifested, had confirmed the judgment of Friends generally in favour of a zealous exertion of endeavours for the preservation of Friends in the uniform practice of piety.

William Penn, in company with John Everot and Thomas Story, set out from Bristol, at that time the place of his residence, in the 2d month, 1698, to visit Friends in Ireland. They landed in Dublin the 6th of 3d month, O. S. and the half year's meeting began on the 8th, wherein Thomas Story writes they were greatly comforted, not only in the enjoyment of the divine presence, but also in observing the unity, mildness, and order, which appeared amongst Friends, in the management of the affairs of the church in that meeting.

The resort of people, of all ranks and professions to the meetings, was very great, chiefly to hear William Penn. Many clergy attended amongst others, and amongst them, the dean of Derry, who being at several meetings, was asked by his bishop whether he heard any thing but blasphemy and nonsense; and whether he took off his hat in time of prayer.

prayer; to which he replied, that he heard no blasphemy nor nonsense, but substantial truth; and did not only take off his hat at prayer, but his heart said amen thereto.

Here they met with John Plympton, a tenacious baptist teacher, whose pertinacity in opposition and envy, William Penn had experienced before in dispute at Melksham, in Wiltshire. This person had published a very abusive paper against Friends in general, and William Penn in particular.

Upon this several persons applied to the elders of that people, to inform themselves whether this work was with their approbation; who, with becoming candour and concern, disclaimed having any hand in it; but that it was altogether Plympton's own work, and disowned him therein. So looking upon him as a wrangler, they thought him not worthy of notice at that time; but afterwards William Penn publishing a paper, entitled "Gospel Truths held by the People called Quakers" subscribed by himself and three other Friends, Plympton's enmity was roused again to appear in print, in a piece to which he prefixed the injurious title of, "The Quaker no Christian."—William Penn also reprinted the 8th and 9th chapters of his "Primitive Christianity revived," which nearly exposed to the public the falsity of Plympton's reflections.

In the course of his visit, coming to the city of Cork, William Penn paid a visit to the bishop, and presented him with the above-said paper, called "Gospel Truths," which he seemed to receive favourably, but afterwards, unexpectedly, published some exceptions against it; to which William Penn, after his return to England, replied in a defence of the paper, entitled "Gospel Truths against the Exceptions of the Bishop of Cork."

They look upon it as unnecessary to attend them through the whole course of their visit; but only take notice of one or two remarkable occurrences.

At

At Ross, in the county of Wexford, they met with an interruption in their journey : there was a law at that time in Ireland, that no Papist should possess a horse of the value of 5*l.* 5*s.* or upward ; that any horse being in the possession of one of that denomination, any protestant making information thereof and tendering the owner 5*l.* 5*s.* before a magistrate might possess himself of such horse : and all to be deemed Papists, who should refuse to take the oath and subscribe the declaration, upon tender thereof.

Two officers, quartered in Ross, thought to avail themselves of this law, by seizing these Friends horses, and obtained a warrant for that purpose.

By this warrant the horses of four of the Friends were seized, but two returned, being worth little more than 5*l.* 5*s.* but the horses of William Penn and his son they detained ; whereupon two Friends Joseph Pike, of Cork, and Thomas Cuppage, of Lambstown, went to the magistrate, and took out a replevin ; Thomas Cuppage giving bond to stand trial, by which they regained possession of the horses.

William Penn wrote to the lords justices an account of this transaction, who immediately let the officers know their displeasure, by ordering them to be confined to their chambers : and being apprehensive of the consequence, they procured application to be made to William Penn, to entreat him to write again for their release, and to prevent their being broke ; who, finding them brought to a sense of their error, readily complied with their request upon which they were released and forgiven, which they appeared very thankful. Thus terminated this business, without much inconvenience to the Friends concerned, further than preventing some of them from reaching Waterford in time, to the meeting they had appointed there.

Proceeding in their journey to Cashel, in the county of Tipperary, they met John Vaughton

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Waldenfield, from London : and being the day of the week, the meeting was crowded by a multitude of people of various notions and ranks in place. The meeting being gathered, the mayor of the town, with constables, &c. came, by direction of the bishop of the place, and commanded them, in King's name, to disperse, though he could not get into the house for the throng.

William Penn, being detained in writing some letters of importance, while the meeting was gathered, had not yet come in ; but taking an opportunity to speak with the mayor, he requested him to go, and let the bishop know, he would wait upon him at his own house, after meeting, and desired his patience till then. The mayor assented and withdrew : and William Penn went into the meeting. The meeting was much favoured, and the people generally satisfied with what they heard and felt.

The meeting being ended, William Penn, taking with him three Friends along with him, went to the bishop, with whom he expostulated concerning that prohibition ; he treated William Penn in a friendly manner, and, in his excuse said, " that he went that day to church, as usual ; and, when there, he found no body to preach to but the mayor, churchwardens, some constables, and the walls, the people being all gone to your meeting ; which, I confess," he said, " made me a little angry ; and I sent the mayor and constables with that message, in hopes, by this means, to procure a greater auditory ; though I have no ill-will to you, or those of your profession." They parted in seeming friendship.

Afterwards, the bishop, to apologize for his conduct, wrote to the lords justices, to inform them, in a causeless manner, " that Mr. Penn and the Quakers gathered that day such a multitude of people, and many armed papists, that it struck a terror into the town ; and not knowing what might be the



the consequence, he had sent the mayor and other magistrates to disperse them; but seeing they had taken no notice of him, or the civil powers there, he thought it his duty to lay the matter before their lordships, that such remedy might be applied, as in the wisdom they might think proper, to obviate the danger and ill consequences of such assemblies."

When William Penn and his companions arrived at Cork, finding the lords justices arrived there before them, William, for whom they had entertained a great regard, went to pay them a visit: after mutual congratulations, the earl of Galway gave him the bishop of Cashel's letter to read, which having done, he related to them the real circumstances of the case, telling them "that he did not see any armed persons there, unless here and there a gentleman might have a sword usual; but that he knew nothing of what religion they were." Then the earl, calling the bishop, "dotard!" said, "why should he make all this ado upon so common an occasion?"

From Lambstown, in the county of Wexford, he wrote an epistle to the yearly meeting in London conveying an account of their service, and the state of their religious society in that nation.

About this time a general provincial visit was appointed and performed, i. e. a visit to every particular men's meeting through each province, in order to enquire into the state of each meeting; and the exhortations and admonitions, imparted from the half year's meetings, had been put in practice; an account was returned to the succeeding national meeting, of the great satisfaction which the Friends concerned were favoured with in their service, and the feeling of divine assistance with them; and having a condescending temper of mind in those who were visited, so as to receive their advice with docility, and readily to comply therewith; some whom had been prevailed with to lessen their

ard concerns, that they be more at liberty to fill their places in society with greater fidelity; others, who were possessed of large holdings of lands, to accommodate their poorer brethren, who wanted smaller tracts at reasonable rates.

They also published and dispersed an epistle\* from the province meeting of Leinster, held at Castledermot, the 9th, 10th, and 11th days of 7th month this year, on the same subject, which affords us a specimen of the sentiments of the faithful elders of this year.

1700. This year died James Greenwood, and Ann his wife, of Grange, in the county of Antrim.— They were strict observers of the apostle's exhortation, not to forget to entertain strangers, their household hearts being open to receive the travelling servants of the Lord; for which service they were well qualified, administering to them spiritual help and assistance, as well as outward entertainment.— James being for many years infirm in body, was unable to travel much abroad; but Ann being healthy, both in body and mind, was frequently serviceable at the general meetings of Friends, where she appeared with such sweetness and evenness of temper, so grave, temperate, and reaching in her expressions, that such as were in the service with her, were much encouraged, by the excellent fruits of the divine spirit that appeared through her, both in doctrine, discipline, and conversation. They both died in the same year, in great resignation and assurance of peace with God.

This epistle is recorded at length in Dr. Rutt's history.

## AMERICA.

In the course of the year 1695, Robert Barron from Westmorland, and Robert Wardel, from Sunderland, county Durham, both far advanced in years but men eminently qualified for service, the latter being more remarkable for an extraordinary talent in the discipline, the former for an excellent gift in the ministry, notwithstanding the probability of a final separation from their nearest connections and their native land, under persuasion of duty, paid a religious visit to Friends in this remote quarter of the globe. They commenced their service in the province of Pennsylvania and Jersey, and afterwards visited New England and other parts of the continent, in which service they spent the remaining part of the present, and greater part of the succeeding year, and in the latter end thereof embarked for the West-Indian islands; and after passing through Bermudas and Antigua, where they had considerable service among Friends and other inhabitants, they arrived at Jamaica in the month, 1696, intending, after their service there finished, to return to the continent of America. Continuing united in diligent labour for the promotion of truth and righteousness among Friends and others in that island, for the space of two weeks, the climate seemed unfavourable to their declining constitutions, but more immediately on Robert Wardel, whom it threw into an indisposition, which soon terminated his labours with his life. After four days sickness, he peaceably expired on the 22d of the month, leaving his companion and fellow labourer on the island. And as this Friend was not the least distinguished among his brethren for his service and his peculiar sufferings, a more particular account of him may not be unacceptable to some readers.

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## PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS. 243

Robert Barrow was a native of Lancashire, but brought up from his infancy in Westmorland. He was convinced of the truth as held by the Quakers, and after some time received a gift in the ministry; the exercise whereof he travelled much in England, twice through Scotland, Ireland, and Wales.

In 1663, he was taken from a meeting at Birk-  
 inge, in company with other Friends, indicted at  
 sessions; from which he, with John Ayery and  
 Evan Lancaster, were committed to prison, and con-  
 fined there upwards of eleven months.

In 1665, he was committed to prison on an old in-  
 strument, but after eight days confinement, again  
 discharged, upon being fined 13s. 4d. for which his  
 bonds were afterwards distrained.

His next suffering was by distraint of his property  
 on a demand not properly his own. In 1664,  
 Christopher Bisbrown, of Arnside, was sued for  
 trespasses to an outlawry, and arrested by Robert Wil-  
 son, a bailiff, of Kendal, at the suit of James  
 Duckett, lord of the manor of Grayrigg: the plain-  
 tiff instead of obeying the requisition of the writ, by  
 refusing him to be conveyed to London, to appear  
 personally in the court of exchequer, found means  
 to keep him close prisoner in the bailiff's house  
 for sixteen months, in order to force him to a  
 compliance with his demands: but the old man, who  
 then seventy-seven years of age, bore his con-  
 finement with christian patience, and at length died  
 in the bailiff's house. And in a year or two after,  
 the prosecutor was also removed by death.

In 1668, the two daughters and executrixes of the  
 Christopher Bisbrown, were prosecuted by Eliz-  
 abeth Duckett, widow and executrix of James Duckett  
 said, in the manor court of Beethom, for the same  
 for which their father suffered imprisonment  
 and death. Mary Bisbrown, one of the said exe-  
 cutrixes, was summoned to appear, and upon her



non-appearance a verdict of 6l. 10s. was obtained against her, and a warrant granted for distress of her goods; but she being in the station of a servant they could find no effects of her's; and her father was out of their jurisdiction. Soon after her discompointment, Robert Barrow, who had married Margaret Bisbrowne, the other executrix, was summoned into the court at Kendal by the said Elizabeth Duckett, upon the aforesaid verdict obtained at Beethom, where he demurred to the jurisdiction of that court, which appears to have been allowed. Sometime after, he was again summoned to the court at Kendal, where four actions were brought against him at the suit of the said Elizabeth Duckett; and the 2d day of March, 1668, those actions were tried, and a verdict obtained against him for 4l. which the bailiffs took from him a horse which cost 4l. 5s. hay worth 15s. and sundry articles of household furniture beside.

In the same year Robert Barrow, with Miles Barman, and John Fell, was prosecuted in the ecclesiastical court at Richmond, for small tithes and offerings, at the suit of William Brownwood, parson of Kendal, and was committed to prison, and detained there nine weeks: after which these Friends, being informed of some illegality in the proceedings against them, appealed to the ecclesiastical court at York, upon which they were set at liberty during the appeal, and were likely to recover costs against the priest: but by the advice of one Dr. Burwell, a priest took an oath of the legality of his prosecution, and thereupon they were cited to answer upon pain, otherwise they would incur a contempt, which might have been the consequence, had not both the said Barrow and Dr. Burwell died in the intermediate time, whereby the suit was terminated after an expense of 7l. to Robert Barrow, besides his false imprisonment, which was attended with a circumstance, evidence

the unfeeling temper of his prosecutor: when the bailiffs came to arrest him, he was sick, and had taken physic, wherefore he requested them to forbear taking him from home until the next day: they evinced more tenderness than the priest; to whom, when they applied in favour of the prisoner, informing him "it might endanger the man's health to take him away at that time," the priest churlishly answered, "that unless he would pay, he should go immediately to jail." So they were obliged to hurry him away, to the apparent danger of his health.

He was again imprisoned in 1677. The mayor of Kendal sent three constables to the meeting, who found Robert Barrow preaching. At the next sessions he, and two other Friends, who were at the meeting, were indicted for a riot, fined, and imprisoned: but some little time after, their fines were paid by distress of their goods, and themselves set at liberty.

His last imprisonment was in London, in 1685: he was taken from Devonshire-house meeting, and with several others indicted again for a riot, brought guilty, and fined 2l. 13s. 4d. and of course re-committed to prison for non-payment; but how long he was detained there I find no certain account.

It was not long until the prosecution was much moderated, and in fine terminated by the King's declaration of indulgence. Robert Barrow had, when at liberty, travelled into sundry parts of Great Britain, in the exercise of his ministerial labours, in sundry periods of his life; but did not cross the seas in that service until his declining years. In 1691, his sympathy with his friends in Ireland, just relieved from a season of distress, drew him to pay them a religious visit, being the first Friend from abroad who visited that nation after the wars. And in the next year, he repeated his visit to that nation, in company with Alexander Seaton.

In 1694, he left his outward habitation, to pay religious visit to Friends on the American continent and some of the West-Indian islands; for so discouraging was the prospect of this undertaking at his time of life, and such was his apprehension of the attendant difficulties and dangers, that he expressed himself to this effect before he left England "that he had rather have immediately laid down his natural life there, if by so doing he could have kept his peace with God, than to cross the seas to America."

We left him in Jamaica, where he spent about four months after the decease of his companion and being clear of his service in those parts, was proposing to return to Pennsylvania; and with this view he embarked in company with Jonathan Dickenson and his family, on board the Barkentine *Reformation*, Joseph Kirle master, on the 23d day of the 6th month (August) 1696; they proceeded successfully on their voyage till the 22d of next month when being in the Gulf of Florida, a storm arose and drove them ashore in the night, when it was so dark they could see no land, and the seas broke over their heads. They concluded to keep in the vessel as long as it would hold together, and at day light found themselves on shore upon a beach, which was dry when the surges retreated.

They got on shore, and brought off some of the provisions, with spars and sails to make a tent. Dickenson, with a negro servant, went to view the land, which appeared a dreary waste without trees or herbage; they chose the most convenient place they could find for their tent, to which they brought the sick and weak, particularly Jonathan Dickenson, his wife and young child, and Robert Barrow, who, besides the infirmity of age, had been for some time under an infirm state of health; the storm and rain still continued, from which they had no protection.

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shelter; their clothes also were all wet; but these were scarcely to be reckoned hardships in comparison of what they had to experience.

In a short time, two of the natives made their appearance, quite naked, except a small piece of plaited straw-work about their waists; these savages looked very fierce, their hair was tied behind in a roll, in which stuck two bones, one shaped like a broad arrow, the other like the point of a spear, and their weapons were long knives. They seized the two first of the ship's crew they met with, who were fetching corn from the vessel; the rest coming up seemed disposed to fetch their guns to kill them, but were dissuaded by Jonathan Dickenson, who observed to them their inability to defend themselves and company from the consequences of such an action, advising them to put their trust in the Lord, who was able to defend them to the uttermost. After looking upon these strangers awhile, the Indians turned their backs and ran away.

Their sudden retreat filled the ship-wrecked crew with gloomy apprehensions, imagining they were gone to alarm the rest of the natives, which seems to have been really the case.

Conferring amongst themselves about the best expedients in this extremity, one of the company proposed to assume the denomination of Spaniards, as these Indians stood in awe of them; and one of the mariners, named Solomon Creson, speaking the Spanish language well, the motion was agreed to by most of the company, as the most probable means of escaping with their lives.

Soon after word was brought by some of their people who had been near the beach, that the Indians were coming; the greatest part went to plunder the vessel, but the Cassekey (their chief) with about twenty more, came upon the shipwrecked people in a furious manner, their large Spanish knives in their



hands, and foaming at the mouth, cried out, "Nickaleer, Nickaleer," which, though not understood at that time, they came after to understand was the term they used to signify "Englishmen," to whom they bore a particular malevolence.

When these persons endeavoured, according to their agreement, to pass themselves upon them the Spaniards, they repeated their cry, "no Espani Nickaleer, Nickaleer," and surrounding them, placed themselves each behind one, and some taking hold of them by the head, with their knees against their shoulders, with their arms extended and their knives in their hands, in this posture they seemed to wait for the Cassekey to begin the butchery.

The Friends sitting quite still, and apparently unmoved, resigned to the divine will, when all on a sudden the Indians, who had been very clamorous at their unintelligible jargon, and dreadfully fierce in their countenances, were struck dumb, their countenances fell, and they looked like men amazed for a quarter of an hour. Then they withdrew their hands, and left them, to rifle their chests, which they had brought on shore, and divided the spoils, the Cassekey reserving the money to himself. They stripped most of them of their clothes, leaving them as naked as themselves, (except Jonathan Dickerson's wife and child, Robert Barrow and Joseph Kirle). Being now in the hands of these Indians, it pleased providence to affect the Cassekey's heart with tenderness, who thenceforward became their protector against the further rapine or abuse of the people.

But the next day the Cassekey came into the town, which, by his direction, by a signal, the ship's company had erected, to shelter themselves from the storm, and sitting down amongst them, repeated the question "Nickaleer, Nickaleer?" and addressed

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rectly to Robert Barrow : Now, although the rest of the safety of their lives, had assumed the name Spaniards, some on that account making a wrong assertion, others evading a direct answer, yet this honest man, who had learned of the God of truth, speak the truth from his heart on all occasions, even at the hazard of his life, in simplicity answered yes ; whereupon the Cassekey asked him, if another person, to whom he pointed was " Nickaleer ? " which he returned the same answer. Then he said " totus " (all) " Nickaleer," and went out, and returned in a short time with some of his men with him, and then they stripped Robert Barrow and the rest, of their clothes, who had hitherto been spared, and left them likewise almost naked.

The Indians having collected their plunder, procured a guard, armed with bows and arrows, to conduct their prisoners to their town, who were each of them, if any ways able, obliged to carry a burthen provided for them out of the plunder. Thus loaded, and threatened to be shot if any of them refused to lay down their burthen, they were marched about five miles barefooted through a deep sand, and the sun extremely hot ; when they reached an inlet of the sea, on the other side whereof their town stood, composed of a few wigwams, constructed of all poles stuck in the ground. bent one to another, to form an arch, and covered with a thatch of palm-leaves ; to this town they were taken over the inlet in canoes.

Here they had an opportunity of observing their manner of worship, which was performed by night, and which is thus described. The moon being up, an Indian who performs their ceremonies, looking steadfastly at the moon, made a hideous noise, and acted like a madman for the space of half an hour, the Indians being silent till he had done ; after

ter which they made a great noise, some like the barking of a dog, and other strange sounds; after this, one got a log, and set himself down, holding the stick or log upright resting on the ground; several others gathered about him, making a hideous noise, and singing after their fashion; at length their women joined the chorus, and added greatly to the vociferation, which continued till midnight.

The next day, the 26th of the month, Robert Barrow, under a deep exercise of mind, in consideration of their present distressing trials, toward the evening, felt a concern to address an exhortation to his fellow sufferers to patience under their present afflictions, preaching from the text of scripture Rev. iii. 10. "Because thou hast kept the word of my patience, therefore I will keep thee". After which he ended with a most fervent prayer, desiring of the Lord, "that whereas he had suffered them to be cast amongst a barbarous and heathenish people, that if it was his blessed will he would preserve and deliver them from amongst them, that their names might not be buried in oblivion, and that he might lay his body amongst his faithful friends. At the close of his prayer he seemed to have assurance that his petition would be granted.

They spent five days amongst this savage people, and then, being stripped of all they had, were permitted to depart, and obtained from the Indians, at their departure, some things they seemed to set a value upon, being articles of provision these savages knew not the use of, but which might be of service to them in their journey. They had hitherto eaten very little, if any thing, from the time of the shipwreck; at first their affliction took away their appetite, that they had little inclination to eat; then the Indians' food here was mostly distasteful to them; and when they were provided with fish, some of them hungry as they were, having conceived

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y, as imagining they only fed them to feed them-  
selves upon them.  
They divided company, the ablest taking their  
ourney by land, and the sick and weak by water, in  
eir own boat, which they had obtained of the  
assekey, and directed their course to a place called  
ucia, on their way to Augustline.

When they came to the place of their first destina-  
on, where they expected greater safety, and more  
endly treatment amongst Indians nearer to the bo-  
of the Spanish settlements, they found them-  
ves greatly disappointed, meeting here with in-  
bitants not a whit more civilized than those they  
d left behind, equally savage, equally suspicious  
their being Englishmen, and equally ill-disposed  
wards them as such; yet they were here also pro-  
tentially preserved from personal injury, any  
ther than stripping them of those poor rags which  
others had left them, for these stripped and left  
m quite naked: Here the Cassekey's wife was  
de an instrument for their preservation, she and  
be others possessing some tenderness, though  
ongst such an inhuman crew.

They were daily conversant in perils by sea and  
ils by land; once an arrow shot at them narrowly  
ed them; another time, when some were going  
shoot, certain of their own company caught hold  
their bows and arms, to prevent them; some did  
ot, and their arrows missed oftener than once;  
time as they were rowing along shore in their  
e, the sea swelled to that degree that it was dan-  
ous continuing there all night, and as dangerous  
ndeavour to gain the shore; yet that divine pro-  
nce, in which they trusted, made way for them  
e, and conducted them safe to shore, it appear-  
as if a lane were made through the breakers, so  
they landed safely. Another time, by reason



of a great flood, they were obliged to remove their lodgings several times, and for divers days were in continual apprehension of being drowned; at length they were preserved on an oyler-hill.

Their food amongst these latter Indians, as well as the former, was both very scanty and very loathsome, even gills and guts of fish picked off a dunghill; sometimes the nauseous scraps the Indians threw away, and the water they boiled their fish in, however filthily handled. At first we have seen their sorrows and alarms deprived them of appetite, then the Indian food was distasteful, but at length extreme hunger prevailed over all disgust, they could eat the palmetto berries with an appetite, which at first had a most disagreeable taste, and were like to take away their breath.

Their lodging was equally uncomfortable; it is easily imagined how great a hardship it must be to people well educated, and inured to comfortable accommodations, to lie on a floor swarming with vermin of many sorts, and in the midst of all filth that bred these vermin; more severely trying still was their lodging on the cold ground afterwards, unclothed and unheltered, exposed to the chilling blasts of the rigid north-west wind.

For before they reached Augustine, this wind, introducing the severest cold and frost in this country, set in; they were then in an uninhabited country, where they were obliged to take up their lodging on the ground in the open air, they provided the best shelter they could against the freezing winds, and having wood here, made a large fire, but when they lay down could not rest, for when on one side they were even scorched by the fire, the other was ready to freeze, insomuch that they were obliged to stand or keep running most of the night; the next day proved the accumulation of their sorrows, faint and weary for want of rest and want of food.

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they walked in pain through weakness and fatigue. they stood still, they were benumbed with the most and lost themselves; and if this was the case with any of them, the rest were too weak to assist them; they were obliged to leave them to perish, or perish with them; three or four of their negroes actually perished, and were seen by them no more, and one of the passengers fainting, they were forced to leave behind half dead; and I find not that he came to them again. Upon this catastrophe I find the following remark\*, "God can both administer strength in the midst of weakness, and also take away strength, and cause weakness to succeed, whenever he pleases. Here was an old man†, a ‡ woman with a sucking child, and a woman with child, persons very unlikely to encounter such hardships; persevered through, and yet divers negroes inured to hardships perished." The next day they reached Spanish settlement, and in two days more they arrived at Augustine; on the 15th of 9th month (November) after a distressing journey from the 7th of 7th month (September) the day they left the Indian town, wherein they experienced calamities the most distressing to human nature, literally those the apostle recounts as such. § At Augustine they were entertained, clothed, and treated with great humanity by the governor, who, having heard of their captivity among the Indians, sent a body of Spaniards into the Indian settlements, to find them out and conduct them thither; and when they were sufficiently refreshed to undertake the journey, provided them with accommodations and guides to conduct them safely to Carolina. The governor of Carolina completed that relief the

\* Preface to J. Dickenson's narrative.

† Robert Barrow.

‡ Jonathan Dickenson's wife.

§ 2 Corinth. xi. 26, 27.

other

other had begun, supporting them liberally, and providing them with better clothing than Augustine afforded; here they stayed a month, wanting four days, when Robert Barrow, Jonathan Dickenson, his wife and child, embarked for Pennsylvania, and in fourteen days arrived at Philadelphia, about five months and seven days from the time of their shipwreck.

Robert Barrow, from the decay of nature and the unwholesomeness of the food he had subsisted on among the Indians, had contracted a violent flux added to his preceding sickness, which had held him ever since he left Augustine, and was aggravated by the cold weather, so that when he arrived at Philadelphia, he was reduced to such weakness as to be incapable of helping himself.

About eight o'clock in the evening the vessel arrived, and divers Friends went on board to help him on shore, but found him too weak to remove that night; he was rejoiced to see them, and expressed great satisfaction that the Lord had granted his request, that he might lay down his bones in that place. He gratefully acknowledged the goodness of God to him, the consolation of whose presence had attended him in all his exercises.

The next morning several friends went aboard to assist in bringing the vessel up to a wharf, in order to get him on shore, which they effected, and wrapping him up in a blanket, conveyed him in a hammock to the house of Samuel Carpenter, where, being shifted, he slept a considerable time; the same day some Friends came to visit him, at the sight of whom he seemed greatly rejoiced.

On the 4th day of the 2d month, about the 5th hour in the morning, he desired a friend to write for him to his wife, to remember his dear love to her, and to let her know of his travels, and his arrival at Philadelphia; that the Lord was with him, that

## PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS. 255

ally, and Augustin, who was outward affairs were settled, and that she had therewithal to live on. Several Friends coming to visit him this day, he said, "that the Lord was with him, and all things were well, and that he had nothing to do but die." And the same day departed this life, on the 6th day of the same month 1697, and was decently interred in Friends burying ground in Philadelphia.

Although George Keith had left America, and was now busying himself in vain endeavours to scatter the seeds of discord amongst his former friends in England, yet in America, where he had been more successful in causing an open separation, the seeds of dissension he had sown amongst his partisans had acquired strength, and continued to be very troublesome. At the yearly meeting at Burlington this year, George Hutchinson, with some others of the party, attempted to disturb the meeting of worship, coming in under a very ill-timed pretence of demanding justice against the ministers and strangers, against whom he alledged he had divers things to object, both in respect to doctrine and practice; but being evident that his intention was only to disorder the meeting by cavilling and contention, friends continued their meeting unmoved by his accusations, and as they felt their minds properly influenced, bore their testimonies to the truth, and continued them over all his opposition: exasperated at the select, he continued his railing even while some Friends were preaching; and when he found he could not attain his end to put the meeting in disorder, he departed, with a menace, that he would publish or expose them to the world.

Hutchinson had no sooner withdrawn than a fresh disturbance was attempted by a number of Germans, in one Henry Bernard Castor at their head, who was one of those called Pietists, whom, with his children, the friends in London, were reported to have



have assisted on their way to Pennsylvania, for which they seem to have made ungrateful returns; for divers of them gave Friends there much trouble in matters wherein no reasonable plea of conscience or duty could be advanced, and in a manner inconsistent with the spirit of christianity, appearing very violent, especially at this meeting: but Friends feeling their minds stayed under an awful inward sense of the great duty of worship which they were engaged in, they were preserved so steadfast and immoveable, as not to gratify contention by an opposition at that time unseasonable; but such as their minds influenced to speak in public, were strengthened to continue their testimonies over all their clamour, disorder, and raising of their voices and speaking, two, three, and sometimes more at a time, so that at length they gave out and left the meeting.

Several settlers, as we have seen, had already arrived from Wales at Pennsylvania; Hugh Roberts who was on a visit there from hence, stayed this year, when being about to return, a number of the inhabitants of North Wales, who had resolved to return with him, having settled their affairs for that purpose, they together in the spring sailed from Liverpool, in a vessel belonging to Robert Haddock, Ralph Williams commander, and touching at Dublin, sailed from thence the first of the third month; shortly after they got to sea the bloody flux began among the passengers, and proved mortal to forty-five of them and three sailors having died before their arrival at Philadelphia. When arrived they met with a kind reception, not only from the relations and acquaintance, that were in the country before, but from others who were mere strangers to them, in that they understood not their language, so that it then appeared to them, that christian love presided even amongst those of a different

spee

speech and profession, for they were not now many of them Quakers. In the latter end of this year they purchased ten thousand acres of land, in the following year began to improve and settle it, and called the township Gwynedd, which is, in English, North Wales. There were for some time after their settlement, but a few of them that had made open profession with Friends, but several of them had inclinations towards it, which probably was not known to Evan Evans, the then officiating missionary to the episcopalians in Philadelphia, who made them several visits with offers of service; but receiving no encouragement in the way he seemed to aim at, left them. After some time they were generally convinced, and more thoroughly established in the principles they had espoused, and with their families met often together to wait upon the Lord in silence, at the houses of John Hugh and John Humphrey, and for their encouragement in this way many of their country-folk, and others of their brethren in profession, some of which were ministers, came often to visit them, particularly John Pugh, whom they mentioned as greatly influential in those early times to the conviction and establishment of many, and adding to the number of those who afterwards professed with friends; frequent were his visits and labours in the ministry, though he then lived at a considerable distance, but sometimes removing within the verge of their meeting, continued a fervent labourer among them to the end of his days, and many of them with good reason thought they had cause to be humbly thankful for such a blessing.

In the beginning of 1699, Roger Gill and Thomas Story from England, arrived in Virginia, and from thence went to North Carolina, thence travelled by land to Philadelphia, taking Friends meetings in their way. They made a small stay in the city,

city, and then set out for the provinces to the eastward, which having visited, on their return they heard of the great number of deaths by the yellow fever in Philadelphia\*, (which had for a considerable time proved mortal in several of the West India islands;) they remained there some time, visiting and encouraging the afflicted, with their friend and brother in the ministry Aaron Atkinson, who after some time was taken with the distemper, but recovered.

At the yearly meeting of Friends, held in the seventh month, Roger Gill, who, from divers instances, appears to have been very deeply affected with the present heavy calamity, in one of his public addresses to the Almighty, with great zeal and earnestness solemnly prayed, that "the Lord would be pleased to accept of his life as a sacrifice for his people, that a stop might be put to the contagion. When he first heard of this mortality, he said he felt "a great weight and exercise to come upon him," so that he had no ease in his spirit until it came amongst them, and when he came, he

\* Thomas Story speaks of it in the following terms, "Great was the majesty and hand of the Lord, great was the fear that fell upon all flesh; I saw no lofty airy countenance, nor heard any vain jesting to move men to laughter, nor witty repartee, raile mirth, nor extravagant feasting to excite the lusts and fires of the flesh above measure, but every face gathered paleness, and many hearts were humbled, and countenances fallen and sunk, as such that waited every moment to be summoned to the bar and numbered to the grave."

"But the just appeared with open face, and walked upright in the streets, and rejoiced in secret, in that perfect love that casteth out all fear; and sang praises to him who liveth and reigneth, and is worthy for ever, being resigned unto his will in all things; saying, "Let it be as thou wilt, in this world, and in eternity, now and for ever more:" nor love of the world, nor fear of death, could hinder their resignation, abridge their confidence, or cloud their enjoyments in the Lord."

only visited the sick, but such was the part he took in their affliction, that he declared in his public preaching, that "when he was one hundred miles off, his love in the Lord was such to them, that had he had wings he would have flown to them." After the yearly meeting was over, he often expressed the state of his mind, and that he had not much to do but visit Friends of Burlington, and having accomplished that journey, at his return to Philadelphia he was taken sick with the distemper, which continued seven days upon him, and a few hours before his death he took his leave of his friends about him, saying "farewell, farewell, farewell," and calmly passed from time to eternity on the second of the eighth month.

The death of this good man by the common distemper, so soon following the public offer he had made, and the sickness ceasing in a little time afterwards, made it an occurrence much taken notice of; and was the more extraordinary, that he does not appear to have been a man apt to be carried away by undue transports.

In the sixth month, 1699, William Penn, with his wife and family, took shipping a second time for his province of Pennsylvania; and on the ninth of the seventh month (September) they set sail, and were near three months out at sea: at the time of their arrival, the danger of the contagious distemper was over: they were received with universal

Being now determined to settle in his province, he applied himself to the offices of government, always preferring the good of the country to his private interest; rather remitting, than rigorously exacting his lawful revenues: under the influence of his paternal administration the province was in an easy and flourishing condition: when some persons in England, taking advantage of his absence,



absence, were endeavouring to undermine both his and other proprietary governments, under pretence of advancing the prerogative of the crown; and a bill for that purpose was brought into the house of lords. His friends, the proprietors and adventurers here, presently represented the hardship of the case to the parliament, soliciting time for his return to answer for himself; and accordingly giving him a speedy account how matters stood, they pressed his coming over forthwith; with which he seeing necessary to comply, summoned an assembly to meet at Philadelphia, to whom, on the 15th of September 1701, he made the following speech, viz.

" Friends,

" You cannot be more concerned than I am at the frequency of your service in assembly, since I am very sensible of the trouble and charge it contracts upon the country, but the motives being considered, and that you must have met of course the next month, I hope you will not think it a hardship now.

" The reason that hastens your sessions, is the necessity I am under, through the endeavours of the enemies of the prosperity of this country, to go for England; where, taking advantage of my absence, some have attempted, by false or unreasonable charges, to undermine our government, and thereby the true value of our labour and property. Government having been our first encouragement, I confess I cannot think of such a voyage with great reluctance of mind, having promised my friends the quietness of a wilderness, and that I might stay so long at least with you, as to render every business entirely easy and safe. For my heart is among you as well as my body, whatever some people

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please to think ; and no unkindness or disappointment shall (with submission to God's providence) ever be able to alter my love to the country, and resolution to return and settle my family and posterity in it : but having reason to believe I can at this time best serve you and myself on that side of the water neither the rudeness of the season, nor tender circumstances of my family, can overrule my inclinations to undertake it.

" Think, therefore, (since all men are mortal) of some suitable expedient and provision for your safety, as well in your privileges as property, and you will find me ready to comply with whatsoever may render us happy, by a nearer union of our interests.

" Review again your laws; propose new ones, that may better your circumstances ; and what you do, do quickly, remembering that the parliament meets the end of the next month, and that the sooner I am there, the safer I hope we shall be here.

" I must recommend to your serious thoughts and care, the king's letter to me for the assistance of New-York with 350*l.* sterling, as a frontier government, and therefore exposed to a much greater expense in proportion to other colonies; which I called the last assembly to take into their consideration, and they were pleased, for the reasons then given, to refer to this.

" I am also to tell you the good news of the governor of New-York, his happy issue of his conferences with the five nations of Indians, that he hath not only made peace with them, for the king's subjects of that colony, but (as I had by some letters before desired him) for those of all other governments under the crown of England on the continent of America, as also the nations of Indians within those respective colonies: which certainly merits our acknowledgments.

" I have done, when I have told you, that unanimity and dispatch are the life of business, and that I desire and expect from you, for your own sake, since it may so much contribute to the disappointment of those that too long have fought the ruin of our young country."

#### The Assembly's Address.

" May it please the Proprietary and Governor,

" We have this day in our assembly read thy speech, delivered yesterday in council; and having duly considered the same, cannot but be under a deep sense of sorrow for thy purpose of so speedily leaving us, and at the same time taking notice of thy paternal regard to us and our posterity, the freeholders of this province, and territories annexed, in thy loving and kind expressions of being ready to comply with whatsoever expedient and provisions we shall offer for our safety, as well in privileges as property, and what else may render us happy in a nearer union of our interests; not doubting the performance of what thou hast been so lovingly pleased to promise, we do in much humility, and as a token of our gratitude, return unto thee the unfeigned thanks of this house.

" Subscribed by order of the house,

" JOSEPH CROWDON, speaker."

The next month he took shipping for England and safely arrived at Portsmouth about the middle of December; and the same month came to London after his return, the bill, which, through his friendly solicitations, had been postponed the last session of parliament, was wholly dropped, and no farther progress made in that affair. It doth not appear that after this he returned any more to Pennsylvania.

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CHAP. IX.

QUEEN ANNE ASCENDS THE THRONE.—SHE DECLARES HER RESOLUTION TO MAINTAIN THE TOLERATION.—A REBELLION PREVENTED.—FRIENDS AT FREDERICKSTADT SUFFER BY WAR.—DEATH OF THE QUEEN.

ANNE, the second daughter of King James, who was married to Prince George of Denmark, succeeded to the throne by virtue of the act of settlement. Addresses of congratulation were made to her from all quarters upon her accession, in 1702.—The Quakers thought themselves no less than others called upon to condole the King's death, and testify their fidelity to the new sovereign. They accordingly drew up an address, deputed George Whitehead and some other Friends to present it, which was favourably received by the Queen, who, upon its being read to her, answered :

"I thank you for your address, and I assure you of my protection."

The Queen having afterwards publicly declared her resolution to maintain the act of toleration in favour of dissenters, Friends at their succeeding yearly meeting, thought proper to wait upon her with an address of thanks for her said declaration ; an address drawn up, and presented to her by a deputation of suitable Friends.

Of those who presented this address, William Penn was the deliverer, and the Queen not only received the address favourably, but after it was read, was pleased to give the following answer :

"Mr. Penn, I am so well pleased that what I have said is to your satisfaction, that you and your friends may be assured of my protection."

This year died Margaret, widow of George Fox, who was in or about the 87th year of her age. She was



was the daughter of John Askew, of Marsh Grange in the parish of Dalton, in Lancashire; a gentleman of an ancient family and good estate, and conspicuous for piety and charity. His daughter Margaret was married before she attained the age of eighteen years to Thomas Fell, who being bred a lawyer, was made justice of peace and a member in several parliaments, appointed vice-chancellor of the county of Lancashire, and, after some time, a Welch judge; in which situations he acquitted himself with wisdom, justice, and mercy. He died in 1658, having been married twenty-six years, and left behind him a son and several daughters. After a widowhood of eleven years, she was married to George Fox, and survived him about the same length of time, and evidenced that she was well prepared for her death, by the excellent professions she uttered near her conclusion.

In 1704, Ambrose Rigge, of Ryegate in Surrey, departed this life. He was born at Banton in Wiltshire, moreland, convinced about the year 1652, and thereupon rejected by his relations. Some time after he thought it his duty to appear as a minister, and travelled in the exercise of his ministry to London and to the southern and western counties of England in or about the year 1655, in company with Thomas Robertson: zealous for the promotion of the testimony of the truth, his sufferings for his testimony bore proportion to his zeal.

Having passed a life in the service of God and man, and endured persecution and affliction with faithfulness and patience, whereby his peace was increased in the time of his last sickness, he went forward towards his dissolution as the end of all troubles, saying, "I am going where the weary are at rest;" and having been inured to patient affliction, it deserted him not in this last trial. He departed this life the 30th of the 11th month,

ged several years. He lived on in some turning great possibilities and selection sufficient in the regard to remarkably; the few from which has The period of subsistence the principal exceeding which necessity against motioned a resurrection set fire. B commotion covered a son, to resist this force," in reference the Queen deal this advertisement in gratitude thought it the been, which

About this who have account of several journals.

VOL. II.

ed seventy years or upward, and a minister forty-one years.

He lived long enough to see with regret a declension in some professing the same principle of truth, turning their attention more to the pursuit of great possessions in this world, to aggrandize themselves and families, than to make their calling and election sure; whereby some meeting with disappointment in their aim, had deviated from that scrupulous regard to moral justice, which in the beginning had remarkably distinguished the members of this society; the deep and affecting concern of his mind drew from him an epistle of advice to his friends, which has been more than once republished\*.

The persecution of the Quakers in New England had subsided in a great degree, since the removal of the principal persecutors by death, and a train of succeeding occurrences of an interesting nature, which necessarily drew off their attention, to provide against more imminent dangers. The people obtained a respite of their sufferings, till the act of toleration set them at liberty to enjoy that peace they desired. But no sooner had the state recovered from commotions, than the colony of Connecticut discovered a propensity, notwithstanding the toleration, to revive the former oppressive measures against this society, by passing an act entitled, "Heretics," in relation whereto, application being made to the Queen and council, it produced an order to repeal this act.

In gratitude for this repeal, Friends in London thought it their duty to present an address to the Queen, which was favourably received.

About this time the society lost several useful members by death, who have been often mentioned in this history, and for a more account of whom we refer to Gough's History, vol. 4, or their several journals.

The repealing of this act put a final period to the persecuting of Quakers in New England : and as the rigorous measures pursued against them at their first appearance in that colony, and for a series of years after, may appear to have been treated with some severity of animadversion, as they deserved, it is but justice to observe, that the descendants of these colonists, perceiving the mistakes of their predecessors, have adopted more liberal and humane maxims of conduct ; so that for several years past, this body of people have been in some respects more easy in the New England provinces than in most others, Pennsylvania and Jersey excepted ; particularly in an entire exemption from any contribution to the support of the established ministry.

The incorporation of England and Scotland into one kingdom, was brought about in the year 1707 under the title of, The Kingdom of Great Britain. The Scotch in general being averse to this union, created great discontents. Lewis XIV being at that time unable to cope with his enemies in the Netherlands, of which the English were amongst the most formidable, looked upon this disaffection of Scotland to the English government, to present a favourable opportunity to divide the allied forces, by giving employment to the British arms at home. With this view, he made preparations to support the Pretender in an invasion of England, at the head of the Scotch malecontents ; but the vigilance of government prevented the means of defeating his design. Addresses of allegiance, or congratulation, having been sent up from different parts upon this occasion, the Quakers thought it expedient, from their yearly meeting, to present an address, which was favourably received.

This year, 1710, party animosities, which appeared to have subsided for some time past, broke out in remarkable violence. Sacheverel, a violent churchman, inveighed against the dissenters in several

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arangues; for two of which he was complain-  
 of to the house of commons, who impeached  
 him of high crimes and misdemeanors, of which he  
 was found guilty by the lords, and silenced for three  
 years; the clergy, and others of the same stamp, who  
 were now become numerous, patronized his cause  
 of their own, with all the vehemence of a violent  
 party spirit, pointed their sermons and discourses  
 with intemperate warmth against the dissenters, and  
 incited the populace to riot and outrage against  
 them, raising a popular cry, that "the church was in  
 danger." The Queen also being influenced to change  
 her ministry and measures, he was used as a tool to  
 excite the passions of the vulgar in favour of the de-  
 sign; and from the prevailing spirit at this time,  
 many of the dissenters were filled with apprehensions  
 of a design to repeal, or at least to weaken, the act of  
 toleration; but a new parliament being elected, the  
 Queen in her speech declared her resolution to  
 maintain the indulgence by law allowed to scrupulous  
 consciences; whereupon a committee of the Quakers  
 waited upon her with an address, which was, as usual,  
 favourably received.

The temper of the people and of the new parliament  
 seemed to present a favourable opportunity of again  
 introducing the bill against occasional conformity,  
 which, after repeated ineffectual attempts, was passed in  
 1711. Upon this act, John Penry, a justice of peace of  
 Wymondsbury, in Suffolk, was prosecuted by one Wall, a  
 squire of the place. The case was this: the justice going  
 to the parish church, understood by the way, that there  
 should be no service there that day, and hearing there  
 was a meeting of the Quakers, he went to it. Wall,  
 apprehending the justice had transgressed the law, and  
 desiring to make some gain of the information, com-  
 menced a suit in the name of one that lived upon  
 the estate: when it came to be tried, the judge expounded  
 the meaning of the act, "that it did not affect those



who accidentally went into a meeting of dissenters but such as conformed to the church, to qualify themselves for an office without changing their religion. Upon the present circumstances the prosecution was dropped, for fear of being condemned in costs, if a verdict should be brought in.

An occurrence in this year evidenceth the brotherly kindness of the members of this society towards each other.

Some inhabitants of Frederickstadt, in Holstein having been convinced in 1692, they had a private large meeting in that town. The Swedes, having broken into Holstein, were closely followed by the Muscovites and Danes: Frederickstadt being full of Russian soldiers, quartered upon the inhabitants, they being greatly distressed thereby, the meeting for sufferings in London had written to Friends of Holland and Germany to visit them, and inform the meeting of their circumstances, in order that the requisite relief might be administered. The meeting received a narrative of their sufferings in a letter from Jacob Hagen, of Hamburg, and in another from Friends of Frederickstadt, from which we extract the following account:

"The Czar is there with his generals, and about 4000 men are quartered upon the inhabitants of the place, from ten, twenty to thirty men in a family; they use great insolence, and are also a great burthen to the inhabitants, hardly tolerable, in the charge of maintaining them with provisions, &c. which is very dear, one pound of butter 10s. and 12s. to 14s. and hardly to be had; twenty eggs 20s. to 24s. no firing to be had for money, which causeth great uneasiness; the city so dirty that there is hardly a passing the streets; the horses are kept in the back rooms of the house, and above stairs full of people and their baggage. Last first day the Czar acquainted our friends he was desirous to come to their meeting; but

ing; but they replied, the meeting-house was taken up with about twenty or thirty soldiers, who had made it like a stable; we desired that it might be evacuated, when we might keep our meeting. So he immediately gave orders for them to go out, and he came in the afternoon with about six or seven of his princes and generals, and sat with us still, and it seemed with much patience. Philip De Neer had to say a few words, and he staid with us about an hour, to the admiration of many."

The war which had been carried on by England, in conjunction with the Emperor and the Dutch, against France, ever since the beginning of the queen's reign, was terminated this year, 1713. On the 13th of 3d month, O. S. a treaty of peace between England, France, and Holland, was signed at Utrecht. Addresses of congratulation being sent up from most parts of the nation, the Quakers, on the present occasion, presented an address to the Queen.

The antipathy which the magistrates of Aberdeen, through the instigation of their preachers, had imputed against this society, continuing to operate, had produced a bye-law of the corporation, in effect to disfranchise all who professed Popery or Quakerism; those of the latter society, inhabitants in and about the city, presented a petition to the Queen and council, praying relief, whereby they procured an order from the privy council, prohibiting the execution of the bye-law, as far as it affected the Quakers.

In 1714, the Queen's health began to decline fast, to tend to her dissolution; the nation was at this time in a very unsettled state; party animosities were revived to an excessive degree, and her very ministers broke out into open dissensions, which were thought to hasten her end. The reigning party in the latter years of her reign, were of that class of the established religion, which had always manifested a hot and intolerant zeal for the hierarchy, and

consequently a fixed aversion to all dissenters. A fondness for penal laws seemed to revive, and it looked as if they had now conceived a design gradually to destroy the benefits of the toleration act; for after carrying the act against occasional conformity they brought in this session an act against the growth of schism, being designed to prevent dissenters from keeping schools, and virtually to take out of the parents hands their natural right in the care and direction of the education of their own children. The bill met with great opposition in both houses as a species of persecution, and the people called Quakers presented to the legislature a remonstrance against the bill.

The Queen was removed by death the very day the act against schism was to take place, whereby it was rendered ineffectual, and the crown, by the act of settlement, descended to George, Prince Elector of Brunswick Lunenburgh, who was proclaimed King of Great Britain the day that the Queen died.

## A M E R I C A.

GEORGE KEITH THE CAUSE OF SAMUEL BONAS BEING IMPRISONED.—FRIENDS TAKEN BY A FRENCH PRIVATEER IN THEIR PASSAGE TO BARBADOS, &c.

THE party drawn aside by George Keith, were at this time greatly reduced in numbers; they fell into dissension amongst themselves, whereby they were diverted from molesting Friends, to gratify their love of contention in bitter altercations with each other. Thus disunited, their society dissolved, their meetings dwindled away, and in six or seven years their name as a sect, sunk into oblivion. George Keith in the mean time had arrived in New England, in quality of a missionary, and, together with John Talbot, had

givers. He received letters of recommendation from the society, for propagating the gospel in foreign parts, to make what converts they could in those provinces.

Notwithstanding he had given great expectations, from his influence amongst his partisans and others, of bringing over many Quakers and other dissenters to the church of England; and at his return gave such a flattering account of his embassy, that it was said he had brought comfort to the church; yet in fact he was very unsuccessful in answering the design of his mission. At his leaving his adherents in Pennsylvania, he had hinted to them, if they should hear of his preaching among the Presbyterians or Independents, they should not term him an apostate or that; but if ever they should hear of his putting on the canonical robe, and uniting with the church of England, he would give them leave to fix that denomination upon him. When, therefore, he returned to America in the character of a clergyman, he effectually lost all his influence with his former adherents; both those who had followed after him from the Quakers, and the Baptists who had adhered to him, were quite shy of him; and offended with him, for leading them into a secession, and thus deserting them.

His principal exertions were not in Pennsylvania, where he was known, and now generally slighted; but in New England, and on that side, where the people were greater strangers to his former transactions there; and still more directed to disturb the Quakers in their meetings, and by false accusations make them appear odious, than to render the church of England amiable, or pursue measures to conciliate dissenters thereto.

He seems to have made it his business to appoint meetings, or places of preaching, at the times and places where the Quakers held their general meetings;



ings; or where strangers of that society, came to those parts, in which he was, in the course of their religious visits. John Richardson, of Burlington, in Yorkshire, a well qualified minister, was at this time travelling in New England, came to Lynn to their monthly meeting, and was there informed of George Keith's intention to be at that meeting, which gave him some concern, under the apprehension of the interruption his presence might give to the solemnity of the meeting.

The evening preceding the meeting, George Keith came to the house where John Richardson lodged with a priest and a number of people, and began railing exceedingly against Friends, in insult to the stranger.

The next day George came to the meeting, where he repeated the purport of his embassy, and his threats in the same terms as on the preceding evening. John Richardson, in reply, laid open to the people assembled his conduct; the proceedings of the society in relation to him; to which George made no objection, but continuing quiet, the meeting was held peaceably and to edification, John Richardson appearing in the ministry. The people were attentive and well satisfied; and George Keith owned "he had been refreshed in that meeting, having heard many sound truths, with some errors; but that it was not the common doctrine which the Quakers preached."

John Richardson, perceiving that this insinuation was intended to infuse an opinion into the people that the Quakers did not usually preach up faith in the manhood of Christ, to obviate the effects thereof distinguished upon it to this purpose, that it was needless necessary, as being a point of faith universally received amongst Christians, and as clearly demonstrated by the Quakers in their testimonies, and their writings, to be a point of faith with them, as with other people: but that as his holy spirit is high

concern

concerned in man's salvation, as well as what Christ did for us without us, and this being yet a mystery to many called Christians, it had pleased God to open them in the course of their ministry, into the meaning and mystery thereof, and to insist upon the latter more than the former.

To this George Keith made no reply, but began to exhibit his charges, and stepped up to the gallery with his paper in his hand. John Richardson being taller, and standing by him, could see his quotations and paraphrases upon them; on which he told him, "that he offered violence to that sense and understanding which God had given him, and knew in his conscience we were not the people he through envy endeavoured to make the people believe us to be." The meeting soon after broke up, and terminated the controversy for that time.

They met again in Rhode-Island, and afterwards at Nantuxing in Long-Island; but he gave Friends little trouble in either: for at the latter particularly, John Godman of that place, having got intelligence that George had by some means possessed himself of 50l. out of a considerable legacy left by Colonel West to poor Friends of London, which was ordered to be paid over to some Friends of that city, and it being proved upon him that he had received the said sum, and never accounted for it, he was slighted by most of the people, as well as Friends; and this detection of his unfair dealing, so blocked up his way, that Friends had little trouble with him in that quarter.

The next Friend who fell in with him on his travels, was Thomas Story, from Carlisle. He being come, in the course of his visit, to Shrewsbury in East Jersey, informs us, that George Keith, in company with his fellow missionary, Talbot, came to Shrewsbury at the time of the yearly meeting held there for that province: on the first day of which he sent by Talbot an advertisement to the meeting, "That

he purposed to have a meeting at a house in the town to begin at the eleventh hour the next day, then came there to detect, out of the books of authors approved among the Quakers, divers vile errors, contrary to the Christian faith, and the fundamental principles of the Christian religion." And challenging Friends before, "to come and answer for themselves, or he would judge his quotations and remarks to be true and a demonstration, to all intelligent people, that he had not wronged them." Where it may be proper to observe his subtle management, in appointing his meeting about the middle time of Friends meeting when it was most likely they might feel themselves better employed, than to desert their own meeting of solemn worship, to perplex themselves with his insidious cavils: they returned him answer, "That being to them as a heathen or a publican, they continued to reject him, despising all his works of envy and revenge; that as he had begun in print, they should, as hitherto, answer him in that way, as liable to misunderstanding and misrepresentations."

Soon after this Samuel Bownas, from Westmoreland, landed in Maryland. George Keith and Samuel met sundry times in those parts, but had little discourse with each other; but when he came into Long Island, a meeting being appointed for him in a village called Hempstead, here he met with George Keith again, and William Bradford, his late print in Philadelphia. These two combining together Bradford was sent to the meeting to see if any advantage could be taken of his doctrine.

He came accordingly, and when Samuel stood to speak, he pulled out of his pocket a small book with pen and ink, steadfastly staring in his face, to put him out of countenance, but in vain. He then wrote a little, and so continued alternately essaying to write, and to daunt him by his staring; but Samuel feeling that animating virtue which bore him

above regarding his attempts, went through with the subject matter before him. When he had done, Bradford stood up with this interrogatory, "Will you stand by these doctrines in public, that have been now preached?" To which John Rodman replied, "William, thou knowest what our Friend hath been concerned to speak about this day, are such points as have been argued over and over, and as the controversy hath been some years in print, it is needless at this time to reduce it to a verbal disputation." But not being satisfied without receiving Samuel's answer, he told him his question being more for contention than edification, he did not think himself obliged to answer it, especially to one, who for his disorderly behaviour, after tender admonition rejected by him, had been disowned; and for this reason Samuel said, "I have no more to say to thee." Bradford upon this turned away in great wrath, threatening "Samuel should hear of it another way."

In his testimony Samuel had fallen upon the subject of ceremonies, particularly those of baptism and the use of bread and wine, called the Lord's supper; and, as it seems, endeavoured to shew their insufficiency to salvation of themselves, according to the manner of the administration thereof, either by the Papists, the Church of England, or Dissenters.

Keith, and Bradford from his notes, trumped up a long affidavit, and Bradford attested it before two justices; and then another evidence being requisite, they met with a young man who had been at the meeting, from whom Keith extorted some expressions he had heard spoken, which having done they threatened him with dreadful consequences, if he would not come in and give evidence; therefore, through fear, he was prevailed upon to give his evidence upon oath, in the words George Keith had got from him by guile.



Having brought matters to this issue, they procured a warrant to apprehend him, and put a stop to his travelling; for he was informed that Keith had proposed the making a law to restrain Friends from travelling, only to their own meetings; for it was the travelling preachers that kept the Quakers compacted together. The warrant being procured, he arrested him the next day in the meeting at Flushing, being the half year's meeting for New York government; but being a man of a less implacable disposition than the prosecutors, he stayed the meeting and after the meeting was over, having a conference with some Friends, he was prevailed upon to give him his liberty till the fifth day of the week, which gave him the opportunity to attend the remaining meetings to the end of the said half year's meeting in which he had good service, to the general satisfaction of crowded auditories.

The meeting being ended, he appeared before the justices, accompanied by several Friends, and after his examination, and their consultation among themselves, he was called in again, when the clerk informed him, that "these honourable justices have agreed that you must enter into 2000l. bail, yourself in 1000l. and two of your Friends 500l. each, or else be committed to the common jail." Refusing to enter into bail, one of the justices asked him, if the sum was too large; he replied, "If as small a sum as three-halfpence would do, I should not do it, being of such a nature as I could by no means comply with." Jonathan Whitehead, one of the justices, was very friendly, wanted him to be set at liberty, offered himself for bail, and took him to his house that night, where he was very kindly entertained. The next day he was sent to jail.

When he had been about three months in prison a special commission was issued to John Bridges and other justices. A bill of indictment was sent

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to the grand jury against Samuel, who had prepar-  
ed reasons to set Bradford's evidence aside, and the  
same being laid before the grand jury, they had  
such weight with them, that they returned the bill  
endorsed, *Ignoramus*, at which disappointment the  
judge was greatly incensed, and treated the grand  
jury with indecent asperity; but finding his threats  
ineffectual, he changed his mode of address, and  
begged them to take back the bill, and resume the  
consideration thereof; which they did, but could  
not be prevailed upon by menaces or by flattery to  
alter their verdict, which exasperated the judge to  
that degree, that he gave strict orders for the pri-  
soner to be confined more closely than before,  
threatening, that as justice cannot be here come at,  
he would send him to London chained to the man  
of war's deck, like other vile criminals, with his  
misdemeanors along with him. Samuel being little  
versed in the law, was greatly dejected at the report  
of this menace. His friends had left him alone, and  
his despondency was so great, that he thought him-  
self the most wretched amongst men, and scarcely  
able to live under it. In this condition he received  
a visit from Thomas Hicks, an antient man, who  
had borne the office of chief justice in the province  
some years, and was well versed in the laws, who  
gave him great encouragement, by assuring him  
the judge could not put his menace in execution,  
or that every criminal must be tried where the  
cause of action lies; but that the judge and gover-  
nor also were disgusted by being frustrated in their  
designs. "Had," said he, "the Presbyterians stood  
you have done, they had not so tamely left their  
meeting-houses to the church." The discourse of  
this honest man was the means of renewing his  
spirit, and of raising him from the state of dejection  
in which he found himself before.

Being advised to demand his liberty as his right

## HISTORY OF THE

by law, he did so, both of the judge, and afterwards by petition to the governor; but it was arbitrarily refused. They were resolved, they said, not to be so baffled by the country, but they would bring him to justice. Keith printed some sheets, in pretence to open the eyes of the people, aggravating the case to the utmost; but it had a tendency to open their eyes, more to discover his vindictive spirit against the Quakers in general, and the prisoners in particular, than to convince them of the justice of their proceedings.

He was now closely confined in a small room made of logs, which had been protested against as an unlawful prison two years before, and his friends were denied to visit him. Not knowing how long his imprisonment might continue, he became very thoughtful, what method to take for supporting himself, and it was suggested to his mind to try if he could learn to make shoes; and meeting with a good-natured man of that craft, he made proposal to him for instructing him in the art, at the same time acquainting him with his reason for so doing. He replied, "It is very honourable in you, but if one of our ministers were in the like situation, they would look upon it as a disparagement to take up so mean an occupation;" yet he acknowledged, that Samuel could earn his bread with his own hands, it was most agreeable to Paul's practice. Samuel quickly made so much proficiency in the art, that he procured thereby more than a sufficiency for his support, which was not only conducive to make his confinement less irksome, but administered ease to his mind, in the reflection of being enabled to procure a support by the labour of his own hands.

He was detained in prison about nine months longer; and about the beginning of the eighth month 1703, the sheriff received an order to summon another jury, to try their success a second time.

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He had private instructions to procure such a jury as might be likely to answer their purpose, which he shewed Samuel with marks of abhorrence, assuring him he would never do it. So the jury being fairly named, and the indictment sent to them, they looked upon it too frivolous to engage their serious attention, and returned it, as their predecessors had done, *Ignoramus*. He was next brought into court, and nothing appearing against him, he was discharged by proclamation. Not only his friends, who came from most parts of the island to wait the issue of his trial, but the people in general, were exceedingly rejoiced at his acquittal and discharge, after being invidiously imprisoned, and arbitrarily detained in prison near twelve months.

These specimens of George Keith's conduct in the capacity of a missionary, instead of promoting, in a great measure defeated the end of his mission; for, instead of bringing an odium on the Quakers, as he had designed, he brought great discredit upon himself.

He spent something more than twelve months in the itinerant exercise of his new function, and returned, by way of Virginia, to England, where he obtained the benefice of Edberton in Suffex, and there continued his writings against his former friends; but his restless temper was not fully satisfied with venting his passion against them. It was not long before he began to fall out with his parishioners about their tithes. Not content with the accustomed income of his parish, which was reported to exceed 100*l.* per annum, he would sometimes take the tithes in kind; sometimes let them to others; trying every method to raise the income to the utmost, and extending his claim to the minutest articles, by which he estranged the affections of his hearers.

Being affected with lameness and infirmity for three



three years before his decease, and disabled from walking to the place of worship, he was presented by his parishioners for divers neglects. In short he had so indulged his propensity to contention that he could hardly keep upon good terms with any he had to deal with.

Yet, there is reason to suppose that he was favoured, particularly near his latter end, with seasons of serious reflection, wherein he viewed the peaceful state of his mind whilst in unity and peace with the Quakers as brethren, and felt remorse under the loss thereof\*. Paying a visit to a gentleman at Hurstpierpoint, and a conversation arising concerning the Quakers, he owned, before several persons, "That, since he had left them, he had lost one qualification they had among them; that in their religious meetings they could stop all thoughts which hindered their devotions, which he very much admired he could never attain to since."

I have already related from Alexander Arscott the acknowledgment George Keith made to Richard Hayler on his death bed.

John Estaugh, from Haddenfield, New Jersey, in company with Richard Gove, who embarked for Philadelphia this year, to pay a religious visit to Friends in Barbadoes, being arrived near the Island, the ship was taken by a French privateer and carried into Martinico: they were fifteen days in reaching that place; at which the master of the prize, on board of which these friends were detained, was so disturbed, that he said the hand of God was against them; and his superstitious bigotry attributed the tediousness of the passage to the two passengers, because they frequently employed the intermediate time in reading their Bibles; which therefore, he would sometimes threaten to thro

\* J. Snathall.

overboard. The morning after their arrival at Martinico, an officer, attended by some persons of seeming rank in the island, came on board, who getting sight of the certificates which they had received from their respective monthly meetings, and which one of the company interpreted to the rest, their friends therein having expressed their desire, "that they might be preserved out of the hands of unreasonable men:" upon the reading of this passage, some of them cried out, "see now the spirit hath deceived you, for you are not preserved as they would have it." One of them answered, "the spirit had not deceived them; that what was mentioned there was the desire of their friends for them, and that probably there might be some service for them even there." Upon which they continued their humorous raillery, crying out, "see now! they are now come to convert the fathers, we will bring you together, and you shall dispute it out." Out of the fathers, so called, none came near to them, except an old Irish priest, whose province it seems was to endeavour to convert the prisoners at two shillings a head for every convert: the other prisoners wanted him to dispute with the Quakers, but he shunned it for some time; yet at length entered into discourse with John Estlaugh, whom he found too well furnished with matter, for him to make much impression upon. He called him a heretick, and returned to his companion, who taking his Bible, opened it in the text, "beware of false prophets:" which provoking the priest, he endeavoured to wrench the Bible out of his hands, not without leaving marks of his violence behind, which ended the dispute; but the other prisoners determined it plain in favour of the Quakers, with whom they said he was not able to dispute.

It doth not appear that these Friends, while in their hands, suffered at all upon account of their religion,

religion, or that their confinement was very rigid; they seem to have enjoyed full liberty of holding meetings, I suppose chiefly with English prisoners.

Before they came to the island, the protestant prisoners there, we may presume, had no minister to officiate amongst them; but there was a major in one of the English regiments, who had been a prisoner there a considerable time. He had been engaged in supplying the place of a priest, by reading prayers two or three times a week to his fellow prisoners: But since these friends arrived and held their meetings, his auditory was considerably decreased, which giving him much uneasiness, he reprimanded the people sharply for going to the Quakers meetings; but still their meetings continued to increase, he determined at last to enter into a dispute with them.

He began with high charges, but J. Estaulgh replied with a firmness and freedom which provoked the major, instead of arguments, to use unhandsome menaces, which the other disregarding, continued his argument for the information of the auditory with so much coolness of temper, as conducted and allayed the passion of his antagonist; and as he became moderate, the controversy grew more satisfactory: but J. Estaulgh appearing better versed in the scriptures than the major, and quoting some text which the latter had no recollection of, he conceived an apprehension that the Quakers Bible were not the same with his; but, upon the comparison, finding them perfectly to agree, and that the texts quoted were alike in both, he gave up the contest, grew friendly, and he treated them with much civility and respect during their stay in the island.

When the cartel for the exchange of prisoners was settled, none bound to or from Barbadoes were

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to receive the benefit thereof. But Jonas Langford, Friend of Antigua, having requested Colonel Byam, who went to Martinico for the purpose of exchanging them, that if any of his friends were there, he would use his interest for their release; he, at his arrival, finding these Friends, applied to the governor, and asked it as a favour from him, that the two Quakers, though bound to Barbadoes, might go with him to Antigua. "What! the two apostles?" said the governor," (for they had given them that name in Martinico) and he consented. So they obtained their liberty after a captivity of about two months, in which they thought they had as great service as in any other part of their journey, although they had good satisfaction in Antigua, where two persons were thoroughly convinced by their ministry. From Antigua they went by Berinudas to Barbadoes, and having finished their service there, returned home.

In this year Thomas Chalkley, returning from a visit to friends in Maryland, and having a concern in his mind to pay a religious visit to the Indians at Jonestown, laid his concern before the elders of the Nottingham meeting, with which they expressed their unity, and encouraged him to the undertaking. He was joined by twelve or thirteen more and an interpreter, who took their journey about fifty miles through the woods, carrying their provisions with them. They were kindly received by the Indians, and upon their application, for the opportunity of a religious meeting, they called a council, which they conducted with great gravity, and in their deliberation expressed their sentiments wholly one after another. Some of their women being present, T. Chalkley, who was admitted to the council, enquired of the interpreter, why they introduced women into their councils? To which he replied, "some women are wiser than some men."



men." Observing an antient, grave woman, who spoke frequently, it excited his curiosity to make particular enquiry concerning her. The interpreter informed him, that she was a woman of such authority among them, that they undertook nothing of consequence without consulting her. That she then said, she looked upon this visit to be of an extraordinary nature, as the persons were not come to buy or sell, or get gain, but from a desire of the well doing, both here and hereafter; and that a meeting among them might be beneficial to their young people. There were two tribes of them, the Senecas and Shawanese. They had first a meeting with the Senecas, who were much affected with what they heard and understood, and calling the other tribe, they interpreted what they had heard to them. These Friends had also another meeting with the Shawanese Indians: their visit was gratefully accepted, and the Indians expressed their desire of more opportunities of the like kind.

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## CHAP. X.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF GEORGE I. TO THE END  
OF THE REIGN OF GEORGE II.

**I**MMEDIATELY after Queen Anne's death the privy council assembled, and the Earl of Dorset was appointed to carry to Hanover the information of the king's accession; who soon after left his German dominions, repaired to England and arrived in London the 20th of September. Having declared in council his purpose to maintain the toleration in favour of protestant dissenters many addresses of congratulation were presented

am, and on the 3d of October, one was sent up from the Quakers, which was delivered by George Whitehead, accompanied by several Friends, and favourably received by the King. They were also admitted to an interview with the prince.

In 1715, the term of the act, for accepting the solemn affirmation of the Quakers, being nearly expired, a bill was brought into the house of commons on the 7th of 3d month, O. S. (May) for renewal thereof, which was passed and made perpetual. In the house of lords an additional clause was inserted, that the like indulgence should be extended to the northern part of Great Britain (Scotland), and to the plantations belonging to Great Britain for five years, and to the end of the next session of parliament.— This amendment was agreed to by the commons, and received the royal assent the last day of the same month. But the affirmation was yet continued in the original form, of which many Friends still scrupled to avail themselves, by reason of their apprehensions that it appeared too near the nature of an oath.

The change of ministers and measures, in the latter end of the late reign, had created much dissension amongst the people; and while a cry was raised for the populace to follow, that "the church was in danger," many began to fear that the protestant succession was in danger, and the partisans of the late king James flattered themselves with hopes, that they might be made for the Pretender to obtain the crown; but the sudden death of the Queen disappointed their sanguine expectations; for the friends of the house of Hanover took their measures so wisely, that George the First was immediately proclaimed king, as already intimated. Yet, notwithstanding justice and mildness, the disappointed party resented and fomented discontent, and endeavoured to disturb his government, The clamour of the church's

church's being in danger was revived; jealousy were excited, seditious libels dispersed, and the populace stimulated to riot and hatred of the dissenters by which means, when they hoped the number of malecontents was sufficiently increased, they began to act more openly.

This spirit of turbulence and disaffection soon broke out into open rebellion in Scotland, and the national discontent was, by his partisans, so exaggerated to the Pretender, as to induce him to make preparations to put himself at the head of the insurgents in which he was privately assisted by Louis XVI. King of France, who dying about this time, the rebellion lost its support from that kingdom. The

\* Thomas Story in the course of his travels, being at Oxford on the 28th 3d month (called May), 1715; gives an account of a riot in that city; "That in the evening a great number of scholars and others arose, and broke all the windows, down benches, wainscots, and seats of the Presbyterians and Friends meeting houses, which made a great uproar in the city.

"They broke into the dwelling-house of our ancient friend Thomas Nichols's daughter, who was a widow, where Thomas also was; and under pretence of searching for a young nobleman who, they said, was murdered and hid there, or somewhere thereabout, though there was no such thing at all, only they used on this senseless cover for their wickedness. They broke down the windows, and threw in some hundred weight of stones and dirt, making great destruction, and shedding some blood. From thence they went to the Baptist meeting house, and destroyed in like manner; and as they came up the street, I lodging with young Thomas Nichols, we expected the same usage as the widow, his sister, had met with, and therefore got for safety to the stair-case, he, his wife and little children, my companion I, and there sat out of the way of the stones: and as they came up to the house, they let fly their volley, broke all the windows and passed on without doing any more harm.

"We went the next morning to view the ruins of our dwelling-house, and as we stood upon a small eminence, and looked over the ruins, (many scholars and other people being there) said pretty loudly, so that all might hear, "can these be the effects of religion and learning?" Upon which several of the scholars hung down their heads; but none answered."

uke of Orleans being appointed regent during the  
 King's minority, had entered into engage-  
 ments with King George, and is supposed to have  
 contributed to defeat than to promote it.—  
 However, the Pretender at last landed in Scotland,  
 and was crowned there. But, previously to his arri-  
 val, one party of the rebels having entered England,  
 and advanced to Preston in Lancashire, were there  
 besieged, defeated, and taken prisoners; and the same  
 day their main body, under the command of the  
 Earl of Marr, met with a check, whereby they were  
 dispersed. The Pretender's expectation thus failing,  
 finding no probability of drawing together an  
 army sufficient to withstand the forces advancing  
 against him, he sought security in a speedy retreat  
 to France, which put an end to the rebellion.

This rebellion, thus terminated, brought many  
 addresses of congratulation to the King, and among  
 the rest the people called Quakers drew up an address  
 to their yearly meeting, which they presented to  
 the King on the last day of the 3d month, O. S.  
 1715. To which the King returned the  
 following answer:

"I thank you for the assurance of duty and affec-  
 tion to my person and government, and you may  
 depend upon my protection."  
 The passing of the act of Toleration, and the ef-  
 fectual establishment thereof, having exempted the  
 people called Quakers, of this age, from most of the  
 various sufferings to which those of the preceding  
 ages were exposed; and having thereby obtained a  
 settlement in quietude, their affairs furnish fewer ma-  
 terials for history than heretofore: yet there still re-  
 mained some subjects of suffering, from which the tole-  
 ration did not exempt them, particularly their scruple  
 against tithes and other ecclesiastical demands. And  
 though the legislature had in some degree en-  
 deavoured to give them ease in respect to swearing,  
 yet



yet the form of affirmation was so uneasy to a considerable part of the society, that they had not freedom to make use thereof, and therefore submitted to the attendant inconveniences, rather than wound the peace of their own minds.

In 1715, the act for accepting the solemn affirmation was renewed without limitation of time; and though the yearly meeting directed an application to be made to parliament, to grant the society a form of affirmation which might be easy to all Friends, the temper of the time did not yet favour such a concession: an opportunity for further relief did not occur till the year 1721; and the affirmation was established in this simple form, "I, A. B. do solemnly, sincerely, and truly declare and affirm, whereby ease and relief were extended universal to the members of this society, in respect to oaths and to the inconveniences and losses in their commercial engagements, to which, on many occasions they were liable, through their incapacity to give legal testimony without injuring the peace of their consciences\*.

\* By an act, 22 Geo. II. 1749, the affirmation was made perpetual, and to operate in all cases, wherein by an act or acts of parliament now in force, or hereafter to be made, an oath was required, although no express mention be made for that purpose in such act or acts, with the same force as an oath, except in criminal cases, to serve on juries, or to bear any office or place of profit in the government.

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Vol. II.

## IRELAND, &amp;c.

Benjamin Holme, a Friend of Yorkshire, a man of great simplicity, who resigning all worldly concerns, leaving an income sufficient for his few wants, gave up most of his time to travel, for the edification of his friends, generally visiting them in their families, as well as their meetings; went to Ireland in 1712, accompanied by John Burton, from the northern part of the same county; he was an able minister, a man of good sense and strong natural parts, refined by religion, more than by education, in whom a peculiar modesty in conduct and in his ministry, was concealed under the rustic appearance of the simple husbandman. After visiting the meetings of his friends, to their satisfaction, John Burton returned home; but Benjamin took his journey to Londonderry, accompanied by Patrick Henderson, with a view to get a meeting in that city; but the magistrates would not permit it, dispersing the people who were assembled; whereupon Benjamin wrote to the mayor, shewing how agreeable it was to christianity, thus to treat men, and, under a religious concern, came only to call the inhabitants to repentance. They also wrote to the inhabitants, reminding them of the late calamities they had suffered, the merciful deliverance they had received, and their sudden forgetfulness of this mercy, warning them of divine judgments for their ingratitude and provoking sins, if they did not timely repent. After this they held several meetings in the county of Donegal, and parts adjacent, where the Quakers and their principles were little known. Benjamin held several meetings in the provinces of Munster and Connaught; at Sligo he visited a few persons, who had lately been convinced.



three Friends in a room, where several friendly persons came to see them, and among them one who brought them a discharge from the priest, upon condition they should promise not to come again, nor hold any meeting in or near Longford. They told him they could make no such promise, for that no true minister of Christ was his own master, but must answer the requirings of him, who called them into his service. They were locked up that night in the room, where they lay on the boards, in their great coats and boots. The jailer, understanding they would demand their liberty at the expiration of twenty-four hours, as they were arbitrarily committed, without a mittimus shewing any cause, waited upon Spann, who then granted a mittimus, charging them with coming, in contempt of the Queen's authority, by force and arms, in a hostile manner, to hold a Quaker's meeting in the borough of Longford.

This charge they denied, as false in every part of it; and, particularly, that it was not they who condemned the Queen's authority, but the priest, who had publicly declared, "that neither man nor woman in England or Ireland could grant a toleration for liberty of conscience;" and who had violated the toleration granted by the legislature, in imprisoning them; which being reported to the priest, he said, he wished he had never seen them; and, in the evening, sent an order under his hand, to the jailer to set them at liberty.

By reason of the rebellion which broke out in Scotland, the Friends in Ireland thought it requisite at this time, to testify their affection to the government, which was done by an address to the lords justices.

Thomas Story, who returned from America, went to Ireland, and had meetings, not only with Friends, but among strangers, in places where the society was little known; amongst whom his service was generally



rally well accepted, and he met with little interruption until he came to Kilkenny, the inhabitants of which city are generally of the Romish communion, or protestants of the high church class; being the ancient residence of the dukes of Ormond, and at that time under the influence of Vesey, bishop of Ossory, whose palace is there. Here are few dissenters of any class except papists; and this bishop seemed much disposed, as far as he had power, to suffer no other.

Thomas coming to the city, in company with sundry other Friends, with a view to procure a meeting amongst the inhabitants, a proper place being fitted up, and the meeting gathered according to appointment. Some time after Thomas had stood up, and was proceeding in his testimony, there came in two men, Arthur Webb and Robert Shervington, and commanding him to be silent, and the people to disperse, he took no notice of them for some time, until they disturbed the meeting to that degree, that the people were not in a capacity to hear; then he asked them, by what authority they acted thus? They answered, they were the church-wardens: he replied, the church-wardens had no authority, by virtue of their office, to meddle with their meeting, nor power to hinder it; so desired them to desist, and sit down peaceably as others did. Seeing Thomas and his friends nowise alarmed by their intrusion, as they expected, they ordered the people to disperse, threatening them with the bishop's court, and began to take some names, which some observing, went out; but the greatest part stayed. Soon after came one Joseph Worley, sergeant at mace, and a constable with him, while Thomas was still exhorting the people, and he could get opportunity; they desired him to come down, for they had a warrant to apprehend him, and disperse the meeting. Thomas told them the Quakers were well known to be a peaceable people, and desired them to have a little patience, till he had

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cleared himself to the people; to which they discovered no aversion, till some of the superior prosecutors cried out, "How well you execute your warrant?" They then took him, Edward Cooper, Henry Ridgeway, and John Harris away, in custody, to the justice's house; but he would not be seen, being troubled that he had been drawn in to sign the warrant, which was brought to him ready drawn up by Robert Clonnell, the bishop's register, and sent to him by the bishop, desiring him to sign it; it was with reluctancy he complied. They took them to other justices, who evaded interfering; till, at last, they were taken before the mayor and this Clonnell, who being an alderman, was a justice of the city by his office; they charged them with holding a riotous assembly; which being denied, Clonnell acknowledged they were not making any disturbance, but still it was an unlawful assembly, the act of toleration in England not extending to Ireland. This position Thomas endeavoured to disprove: these magistrates then required security for their appearance at the assizes, and for their good behaviour in the mean time: this was refused. The justices wrote a mittimus; but, at last, dismissed them with menaces, if they should attempt to hold any more meetings there.

As these menaces proceeded from a very different disposition to that which the king, and superior order of magistrates, discovered to this people, at this time, they were no way discouraged, but concluded to appoint another meeting next morning. At which, when Thomas had stood up about half an hour, the same church-wardens disturbed the meeting, as before; but little notice was taken of them, till the mayor's sergeants and constables came, and took Thomas away singly, a second time, before the mayor, Clonnell, and some others, who gave him threatening language. He told them, they were not to insult the king's subjects, nor vent their passions upon

them; that if he had broken the law, he was subject to the law; and if they acted without law, they also were punishable by the law. They again required sureties for his appearance at the assizes, and for his good behaviour, and, upon his refusal, committed him to the town jail, and put him into the common ward, among thieves in irons; but he was not suffered to stay there long, for Anthony Blunt, the sheriff of the city, took him to his own house, where he was provided with a very good room and agreeable accommodations.

The account of his imprisonment brought Friends from several parts to visit him, and many stayed in town till the first day; they had a meeting in the sheriff's house, his wife and family, and many of the neighbourhood, being present, wherein Thomas Story bore his testimony against antichrist and his ministers, to the ease of his own mind, and the satisfaction of his audience.

The next day, going in company with some Friends, to take the air in the duke of Ormond's gardens, he was accosted by several, whom curiosity drew, to enter into conversation with this prisoner at large; among the rest, Justice Warren, who granted the warrant for apprehending him, and acknowledged his sorrow for it; and Alderman Haddock and others, who began to discourse about his confinement, and which they freely expressed their indignation.

In the mean time, the mayor, and Alderman Connell also, came, and when they saw these persons in friendly conversation with him, they discovered great rancour. They immediately applied to Justice Warren to join them in sending him out of the county for their own jurisdiction extended no farther than the precincts of the city. But the justice refused, telling them he had done too much of this drudgery for them already, and would have no further concern with them, but leave them to their own measures.

The next day the mayor sent Thomas Story word, that he was at liberty, and might go when and whither he pleased; and made an apology for his conduct, that he would not have done what he did, but that *the clergy, as one man, strongly urged him to it*, by telling him, they had thought him a man for the church, but to find him so remiss, looked quite otherwise; that for his own part, it gave him no concern what meetings they had, and was glad he was now like to be out of the way, being obliged to attend the judges at the assizes at Wexford, as deputy clerk of the crown, hoping all would be over in his absence. Yet, he was again drawn in by the bishop, to repeat the like treatment,

Many Friends, from divers places, being come to visit Thomas Story, they concluded upon another meeting next first day, in the same place, which was interrupted in like manner as the former had been, and Thomas again taken prisoner, and after him, William Brookfield, of Dublin, who stood up to speak after Thomas was taken away; they staid but a short time, till the sheriff again took them to his own house.

Connell, the bishop's register, held the office of deputy-mayor during the mayor's absence, and apprehending him still a prisoner, under the mayor's writ, not knowing, or not owning the knowledge of its being taken up, he had caused him to be taken and confined as a prisoner at large; but, finding his mistake, dismissed them for that time.

They met again about three o'clock in the afternoon of the same day, and the bishop hearing of it, told one of the sergeants, if they met again, he would have him put them in the stocks, till he came from church; but many people gathering, after a time of comfortable silence, under a sense of the divine presence, Thomas stood up to speak, and had gone on for some time, the people being satisfied with what they



they heard, and desirous to hear him out, when the constables and sergeants came again; but being grown so weary of the office, that they could hardly touch him; and one of them naming the bishop to be concerned, furnished Thomas with an occasion to remark, they were not ignorant all this time, who was at the bottom of these measures, but now they heard plainly it was the bishop.

The officers taking him away, it gave great offence to the people, many of whom followed them, calling out, "shame." Thomas advised them to avoid disturbance, that no advantage might be taken. The officers expressed their concern, that their officers should subject them to actions so contrary to their inclinations; entreated him to walk up to his lodgings till church was done: he told them he was in their custody, and must go whither they should take him; whereupon they accompanied him to the sheriff's house. In the mean time the meeting continued; William Brookfield appeared in the ministry; some constables were there, who stood without, as if they had no mind to understand or hear any thing: the meeting ended in order, and Friends were greatly comforted.

Next morning Thomas left Kilkenny, to take some meetings in the country, with an intention to return thither at the assizes, the latter end of the week; for he thought it necessary to be there at that time, as his adversaries had required sureties for his appearance.

He returned accordingly, accompanied by Friends from different parts, which made his return soon known, and raised the people's curiosity to see how the affair would terminate. Some Friends went to the judges, and apprized them of Thomas's case and his treatment by the high-church prosecutors, at the instigation of the bishop of Ossory; and Amos Strettell and some Friends of Dublin, had procured

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a letter from one of the intended lord's justices to one of the judges; for the government favoured Friends, and inclined to do all they could for them.

The judges sent for the sheriff to examine the calendar, and not finding the mittimus therein, it appeared that his adversaries had little hopes of gaining any thing by a prosecution, and therefore having exercised their power as far as they durst, were willing to drop further proceedings. And the judges advised Thomas and his friends to overlook their proceedings for that time, which they readily complied with. That evening the judge in his charge declared it was treason in any to pull down or deface any public religious meeting-house.

Thus Thomas being released from the power of his opponents, and the next day being the first of the week, he and his friends concluded to appoint another meeting, which was comfortable and quiet. Just as Patrick Henderson had kneeled down to prayer, the mayor's sergeants came in very quietly, stayed till he had done, and till Thomas Story spake awhile; then one of the sergeants stood up, and with great reluctance, in a low voice, said, he was sent by the mayor to command them in the King's name to disperse; but quickly added, "but if you will not, I cannot compel you," and so went civilly away.— Thomas had an opportunity now, for the first time, to go through with the subject before him, and after a time of supplication, the meeting concluded.

They had another meeting in the afternoon, in which they met with no interruption. Yet the bishop finding the former measures ineffectual, was meditating further means of gaining his ends. He had conceived a notion that the act of uniformity passed in the reign of Charles II. would reach Thomas Story's case, and he was so precipitate as to sue a warrant in his own name, directed to the sheriff, to commit him to the common jail for three

months, without bail or mainprize; intending to wreak his malice, by confining him in an incommensurable common prison, the whole time; for he had sent for the sheriff, and reprimanded him sharply, and threatened to call him before the house of lords, for giving him the liberty of the town upon his first commitment.

Upon a consultation between the bishop, the mayor, and alderman Connell, the bishop's mistake was discovered, in giving the warrant himself. This error being detected, it was concluded, that the mayor should issue his warrant, which he did accordingly: it was served upon him in the evening of the same day at the sheriff's; but the sheriff declared he should not leave his house that night, whatever the consequence might be. Thomas soon after procured the act, and read it over carefully, whereby he was clearly convinced, they had exceeded the limits of law, the act having no relation to the Quakers, their meetings, or preaching; but only to their own parish priests, to reduce them to uniformity of prayer and worship; and to prevent the ministers of Oliver's days from retaining the benefices, of which they were in possession, without an unreserved conformity to the episcopal church; but had no respect to those who preached without pay.

Upon this discovery he told the sheriff it was false imprisonment, and desired him and others to take down in writing, at what time he was arrested, because there might be occasion for their evidence.

The sergeant who arrested him, instead of conveying him to the common jail, brought him a message from the mayor, that he was at liberty to go where he pleased. Thomas observed upon this, that the mayor ought to send him a liberate under his hand and seal, and not imagine him entirely at his disposal, to put in and out of jail at his pleasure; but that he could seek a remedy at law against him.

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The sergeant retired, and a little after the mayor came himself to inform him he was at liberty.

Although dissenters, in general, in this kingdom, and the Quakers, in particular, do not appear to have been subject to persecution for their religion, to that degree that they were in England during the reign of King Charles, and after, as several of the penal laws of that reign did not extend to Ireland; as they had not received the legal privileges which their brethren in England had done by the act of toleration, or that for accepting their solemn affirmation instead of an oath. But in 1719 they received a partial relief in both cases. Great sufferings having attended them lately as well as formerly, through the fraudulent practices of ill-designing men, in filing bills in chancery against them, where their answers would not be received without an oath, frequently in order to defraud them of their just dues. Friends being encouraged by the moderate disposition of the present government, concluded, if an act for a plain and easy affirmation could not be yet obtained, to endeavour to procure a clause in some suitable bill, to empower the chancellor and the barons of the exchequer to receive Friends answers without an oath, in such cases as they might think convenient; and their application was so far attended with success.— For in an act of parliament, entitled, “An Act for the Amendment of the Law,” a clause was obtained, allowing Friends answers to bills in chancery upon their affirmation, and producing a certificate, signed by six creditable Friends; but they did not obtain a general affirmation act till 1722, and then only for three years.

The same year a clause was obtained in an act passed for exempting protestant dissenters from certain penalties to which they were liable; allowing Friends the privilege (in common with others) of worshipping God according to their consciences, without molestation.



molestation. It was hereby enacted, that the statute of the second of Queen Elizabeth, for the uniformity of common prayer, &c. shall not extend to any protestant dissenters, who shall take the oaths of fidelity, &c. under the like restrictions with the act of toleration passed in England, in 1688. And every Quaker, who shall make or subscribe the declaration of fidelity to King George, of renouncing the Pope and Pretender, &c. shall be exempted from all penalties in the aforesaid act.

In 1722, the Friends in Ireland, who generally disapproved the form of the first affirmation, and did not expect to obtain a more easy form from the parliament of that kingdom, than they had a precedent for from England, had made no application on that account till now. They solicited the legislature of Ireland to grant them the like favour, as the parliament of England had granted to their brethren there, and succeeded so far as to obtain an act to accept their solemn affirmation in the same terms, and under the same restrictions, as their brethren in England had done, to continue in force for three years, and to the end of the then next sessions of parliament\*.

Some Friends of New England, in 1724, having been appointed to assess the taxes on their respective townships, and being scrupulous of assessing those laid on for the support of the presbyterian ministry, and applications for their relief having been ineffectually made to the government of that province,

\* This affirmation, which was made perpetual in 1746, (the 19th year of Geo. II.), is in these words:

"I, A. B. do solemnly, sincerely, and truly declare and affirm, &c." And no person is entitled to it, unless he shall affirm in the form aforesaid, that he is "of the profession of the people called Quakers, and has been so for one year last past."

The affirmation will not qualify a person to hold any place under the government, or to serve on juries, or to give evidence in criminal causes.

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## PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS. 301

gave occasion for a petition to the government at home.

Upon which the King, in council, was pleased to remit the said additional taxes of 100*l.* and 72*l.* 11*s.* which were, by the said act, to have been assessed on the towns of Dartmouth and Tiverton: and was pleased to order, that the Friends be immediately released from their imprisonment, on account thereof.

Upon the accession of George II. addresses of condolence and congratulation being presented to him by both houses of parliament, were followed by many others. And the Quakers esteemed themselves engaged to wait upon the new King with an address upon the occasion.

Although the legislature, which in the seventh and eighth years of King William's reign, granted them the act for accepting their solemn affirmation, added a clause, pointing out a less expensive method of recovering tithes and church rates, extending that called the 40*s.* act to 10*l.* for Quakers tithe, to be determined in a summary manner by two justices of peace, and levied by their warrant: yet, as the said act contained no restraining clause, to prevent the clergy from applying to the more oppressive prosecutions in the exchequer and ecclesiastical courts, many of them manifested a disposition to persecution, by applying to these more ruinous methods.

About this time, a catalogue of many grievous sufferings was drawn up by the meeting for sufferings, in order in due time to be laid before the public and the legislature: but a more perfect one in 1736\*, when they also presented a petition and the annexed case to the parliament then sitting.

### *The Case of the People called Quakers.*

In the seventh and eighth years of the reign of King William the third, an act was passed for the

\* See Gough's history, vol. 4, p. 279.

more

more easy recovery of small tithes, offerings, oblations, obventions, or compositions, not exceeding the yearly value of 40s. from any one person in a summary way, by justices warrant; which was continued by an act of the eleventh and twelfth of the said king, and was made perpetual by an act of the third and fourth of queen Anne.

In the seventh and eighth years of the reign of king William the third, in an act for accepting the solemn affirmation of the people called Quakers, like remedy is provided for the recovery of tithes and church rates from Quakers, who shall refuse to pay the same, the sum not exceeding 10l. which act being temporary, was continued by a subsequent act, and was by an act of the first of king George the first, extended to all rates customary or other rights, dues or payments, belonging to any church or chapel; to be paid for the maintenance of any minister or curate in any church or chapel.

These acts, it is humbly conceived, were intended not only for the ease of the prosecutor, but also to prevent oppression and ruinous prosecutions.

Notwithstanding which, there have been prosecuted in the exchequer, ecclesiastical and other courts, in England and Wales, for demands recoverable by the said act, above eleven hundred of the people called Quakers, of whom near three hundred were committed to prison, and several of them died prisoners.

Those prosecutions, though frequently commenced for trivial sums, from 4d. to 5s. and great part of them for sums not exceeding 40s. have been attended with such heavy costs and rigorous executions, that above 800l. has been taken from ten persons, where the original demands upon all of them collectively, did not amount to 15l.

By such prosecutions, the favourable intent of the aforesaid acts, is in a great measure frustrated; and

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many of the said people suffer as if no such laws were in being: though christian charity must admit, their refusal of such demands is purely conscientious, since no reasonable man, considering his circumstances and family, would incur such severe sufferings on any other account.

It is, therefore, humbly submitted, whether such prosecutions, frequently attended with excommunications and imprisonments, be not grievances which call for redress, and whether it be not reasonable to restrain the prosecutors from proceedings so ruinous and destructive.

In pursuance of this petition and case, a bill for their relief was brought into the house. Three anonymous pamphlets soon made their appearance, reported to be all the productions of bishops. Two of them contained but little to the purpose; but the third, supposed to be written by the then bishop of London, handled the subject more fully and artfully, in a pamphlet, under the title of "The Country Parson's Plea against the Quaker's Bill for Tithes, &c." This piece received a spirited answer, in a letter to the author, by (one who styles himself) a member of the house of commons, but was afterwards found to be Lord Hervey.

But the bishops did not trust their cause only to the pamphlets. Circular letters were written to the clergy; in consequence of which, petitions were presented against the bill, by the clergy of most parts of England and Wales. Counsel was heard in behalf of the petitioners, and several alterations proposed in the bill, which after long debates, was sent to the lords.

Many petitions were also presented against it whilst that house. The petitioners were heard by their council upon the second reading, and it was ordered, that counsel in favour of the bill should be heard at the same time.

After



After the merits of the case were debated at large, the reality of the grievances and the unreasonableness of the sufferings of the petitioners being too manifest to be evaded, a new argument was taken up against the scheme of the bill, as it came from the commons; that it was very imperfect, and so incorrect as to render it unfit in its present form, to be passed into a law; and that the session was so far advanced, as did not allow time for altering and amending it. This being urged as a reason against committing the bill at this time, and the question being put, upon a division, it was carried in the negative, by 54 not-contents to 35 contents. The strenuous and united exertions of the clergy, and the weight of their interest preponderated, and the bill was lost. In the majority were fifteen bishops.

The clergy by their exertions prevented the bill for the relief of this society from ruinous prosecutions, being passed into an act; but could not prevent free remarks being made upon the many hard cases contained in the specification, published at the instance of their advocate, expressive of dislike to such proceedings. To prevent the disrepute to their character, naturally resulting therefrom, the clergy of several dioceses published examinations of these cases, as far as those of their respective dioceses were concerned. The drift of these examinations seemed to be to palliate facts, which they could not disprove; and at the same time, by uncandid insinuations to bring the Quakers under suspicion of artifice, of which they were innocent. This put them under the necessity of publishing vindications of their *brief account* of facts, and of themselves from the invidious suggestions of their enemies. In reply to what had been insinuated in one of these examinations, they alledge that they have proved,

1. That 1180 persons have been prosecuted.
2. That 302 of them were committed to prison.

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## PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS. 305

3. That 9 of them died prisoners.

4. That the sums sued for were frequently from 4d. to 5s. that in one case a poor widow and her son were imprisoned eleven months, on a verdict for one penny for tithe-wool. And that in another case two persons were excommunicated, and sent to jail, for a demand of but one farthing\* each, for a church-rate.

5. That a great part of those prosecutions were for sums not exceeding 40s.

6. That heavy costs and rigorous executions have attended those prosecutions, of which there are a great many instances; in some of which the proportion of the sums levied to the original demand, is greater than that of 800l. for demands of fifteen pounds.

\* John Walton of Shildon, Thomas Lakenby of Bishop Auckland, Ralph Dixon of Woodhouse, Love-God Murwaite of Bishop Auckland, widow, and John Dalton of the same, were prosecuted in the ecclesiastical court, at the suit of Thomas Sayer and William Slater, wardens, for a church-rate so called.

The demands were on Walton, two shillings and six-pence; Lakenby, two pence halfpenny; Dixon, one farthing; on the widow Murwaite, four pence, and on Dalton, one farthing; they were all committed to Durham jail, on a writ *de Excommunicato capiendo*; but several of their neighbours, troubled at their imprisonment for such trifles, paid the demands of the court, and got them discharged.

Such trivial causes of excommunication, are a degrading of that office, which ought to be chiefly reserved for a testimony against gross enormities or immoralities.

## CONCLUSION.

## CONCLUSION.

ENGLAND having been engaged in a war with Spain since the year 1739, and France having also taken part with Spain, and declared war against England, in 1743; the eldest son of the Pretender, encouraged by the enemies, and flattered with hopes of being powerfully assisted by the adherents of his family, and of a favourable opportunity of asserting his father's claim to the British throne, while the government was embarrassed with a heavy and expensive war, and the people (as he was made to believe) generally discontented at the load of taxes with which they were burdened, landed in Scotland; when, being joined by several clans of Highlanders, and having defeated a body of the king's forces at Preston-pans, near Edinburgh, he made an inroad into the heart of England, whereby the rebellion became formidable. But the young Pretender found himself greatly disappointed in the expectation with which he had been flattered, both of foreign aid and the additional strength expected from the malecontents in England; and the king's forces under the Duke of Cumberland approaching to give him battle, he thought it safest to make a speedy retreat back to Scotland, where in April of the succeeding year he was totally defeated by the duke, and an end put to the rebellion.

Which having succeeded so far as to occasion a general alarm in England, the event, productive of great and general joy, brought many addresses of congratulation to the king. The Quakers, from their yearly meeting, in the third month, O. S. called May, also drew up an address on this occasion which was presented to the king on the 28th of

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month at Kensington; to which the following answer was returned:

"I thank you for this address of congratulation; the just concern you have shewn therein for me and my family is very agreeable to me; and you may always depend on my protection."

After withdrawing from the king's presence, the Duke of Grafton came out, and told one of the committee, that the king expressed himself very kindly respecting the address, and said, that he had not received any one which had given him so much real satisfaction; and the duke said, they might acquaint their friends thereof.

Some few of the clergy and other claimants of tithes continued to be vexatious, in needlessly applying to expensive methods of prosecution; of which we find two instances this year, in the cases of Thomas Richardson and Benjamin Cox.

The former, an inhabitant of Spital-fields, was prosecuted for non-payment of 6s. for six years small tithes, at the suit of Robert Leybourn and John Brookband, styled rectors and portionists of the united rectory of Stepney; but the defendant being admitted to answer *in forma pauperis*, heard nothing further of the prosecution.

The latter, who resided at Mumby in Lincolnshire, was served with a writ from the court of Common Pleas, at the suit of Thomas Williamson, tithe-farmer, for six or seven years tithe, demanded at about 20s. per annum. He had formerly taken the tithes in kind, but having taken some offence at B. Cox, though in nowise intended by him, he commenced this prosecution.

Application was made to the bishop of Lincoln, who expressed his dislike of any thing that looked like persecution, and readily promised to write to the prosecutor, which had the desired effect. Williamson dropt the prosecution.

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We meet an occurrence which happened in the last year, of which we have few instances in the present century. Hannah Risdale, servant to John Langley, of Waltham near Grimsby, in Lincolnshire, having a considerable time been under an apprehension of duty to go to the place of public worship there, and speak to the people what might be required of her, went accordingly on the 25th of the 10th month, 1745, accompanied by her mistress and other friends, and waited till the priest (Christopher Jackson) had finished his sermon when she stood up, and (according to her own relation) said, "Neighbours, I am sent with a message from the high priest of our profession, to desire you to turn the eyes of your mind inward and examine yourselves, and to come to true repentance and amendment of life." She also spoke to the priest, "that he must come down from his high and exalted place, and bow at the footstool of Christ, before he could teach any people the way to the kingdom of heaven;" or to the like effect.

The priest, exasperated at this declaration, called to the church warden to put her out of the place which he not being forward to do, the priest in great anger violently thrust her out of the door himself. But this rude treatment was not sufficient to gratify his resentment; for, having the sacrament to administer, he alledged, that the worship was not over, and soon after caused her to appear before justice of the peace, who took her master's word for her appearance at the next Quarter Sessions. The Sessions being held at Caister for the county aforesaid in the 2d month, 1746, she was there indicted for a misdemeanor, in disturbing the priest during divine service, and convicted on the Toleration Act, fined 20l. for the king's use, and committed to prison in the castle of Lincoln, till the fine should be paid.

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Her friends exerted their endeavours with the justices, and other persons of influence in that country, for some months after her commitment, to get the fine remitted, or at least mitigated. But, although most of them seemed inclined to favour her, yet the priest so far prevailed upon some then on the bench, as to render the friendly interposition for her relief ineffectual.

The fine was in course estreated into the Exchequer. The only remedy therefore remaining, was to apply by petition to the lords of the Treasury. This petition produced the desired effect, and she obtained her liberty after an imprisonment of more than thirteen months.

The war which had begun between England and Spain in 1739, still continued, and had spread over several parts of Europe; but the warring powers had found themselves disappointed, and a negotiation was resolved upon, and the contending powers agreed to hold a congress at Aix-la-Chapelle, for the purpose of concluding a peace.

The Quakers in London (as had been done before at the treaty of Nimeguen) at the instance of Simeon Warner, resolved to send some of Robert Barclay's Apologies to Aix-la-Chapelle, to be presented to the plenipotentiaries of the several states assembled there for this purpose; and Jan Vander Werf of Amsterdam, being reputed to be the properest person to deliver the same, being writ to for that purpose, he consented.

In the mean time it was thought expedient to prepare an epistle, by way of introduction, as reasons for presenting the Apology; which being drawn up and approved, was printed in English and Latin, and is as follows:

To the Ambassadors of the Christian Princes and States, met to conclude a general Peace at Aix-la-Chapelle, the People called Quakers wish Health and Happiness.

‘Near a century ago it pleased the Almighty to raise up a people in this kingdom, to publish among other gospel truths, the glad tidings proclaimed at the birth of our blessed Saviour, “Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will to men;” and also to declare to the world, the inconsistency of wars and fighting, with the example and precepts of Christ, and the doctrine of his followers.

‘The Almighty hath been graciously pleased to continue us a people to bear witness to the same divine truths, and to engage us in love to the whole race of mankind; to promote the knowledge and practice of the blessed doctrines, as they tend so manifestly to extirpate violence, injustice, and all the dreadful calamities of war; to establish peace and harmony in the world, and to exalt the happiness of mankind both here and hereafter.

‘To contribute as much as in us lies to these important purposes, we are induced to request your acceptance and candid perusal of the Apology herewith presented to you, written by our friend Robert Barclay, for the spreading of truth, and the information of mankind, which at the same time that it exhibits the meek and humble pattern of holy Jesus, the doctrine of his apostles, the sentiments of the early christians, and our belief in relation to war, contains a compendious view of the christian religion, divested of all those inventions with which it has been corrupted by the spirit of error, the pride, the wickedness, or the ignorance of men.

‘This Apology was addressed and delivered by the author to Charles II. king of Great Britain, and

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## PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS. 311

cepted by him and his royal successors, to whom it has been since presented, with marks of regard: we fervently wish it may contribute to your solid advantage, and by your means, to the promotion of peace, righteousness, and true piety amongst those, over whom your influence in your respective stations may extend.

‘May the God of peace and love make you the happy instruments of settling the tranquillity of Europe on a lasting foundation, and perpetuate the blessings of peace to the states you represent, and through them to the whole world.’

Signed in London on behalf of the aforesaid people, the 12th of 6th month, called August, 1748.

Joseph Ollive,  
Jacob Hagen;  
John Hayward,

David Barclay,  
Simeon Warner,  
Thomas Hyam.

A suitable number of the Apologies, in different languages, being sent over to Jan Vander Werf, he took a journey to Aix-la-Chapelle to execute his commission; having waited upon the several ambassadors, from most of whom he met with a courteous reception, the letter and Apologies were accepted, except by the French ambassadors, who being informed that they were upon religious affairs, signified they had no occasion for them.

In 1751, an act of parliament was passed in England, for adopting the new style instead of the old, which had hitherto been used in the British dominions.

In conformity to this alteration, the meeting for offerings in London drew up, and circulated to friends directions and advice; to which they added

• A brief



\* A brief Account of the Origin of the Names of some Months of the Year, and of all the Days of the week, now customarily and commonly used.

\* I. January was so called from Janus, an ancient king of Italy, whom heathenish superstition had deified, to whom a temple was built, and this month dedicated.

\* II. February was so called from Februa, a word denoting purgation by sacrifices; it being usual in this month, for the priests of the heathen god Pan, to offer sacrifices and perform certain rites, conducting, as was supposed, to the cleansing or purgation of the people.

\* III. March was so denominated from Mars, feigned to be the god of war, whom Romulus, founder of the Roman empire, pretended to be his father.

\* IV. April is generally supposed to derive its name from the Greek appellation of Venus, an imaginary goddess worshipped by the Romans.

\* V. May is said to have been so called from Maia, the mother of Mercury, another of their pretended Ethnick deities, to whom in this month they paid their devotions.

\* VI. June is said to take its name from Juno, one of the supposed goddesses of the heathen.

\* VII. July so called from Julius Cæsar, one of the Roman emperors, who gave his own name to this month, which before was called Quintilis, or the fifth.

\* VIII. August, so named in honour of Augustus Cæsar, another of the Roman emperors. This month was before called Sextilis, or the Sixth.\*

\* Macrob. Saturn. lib. 1. cap. 12.

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# PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS. 313

\* The other four months, namely, September, October, November, and December, still retain their numerical Latin names, which, according to the late regulation of the calendar, will for the future be improperly applied. However, from the continued use of them hitherto, as well as from the practice of the Jews before the Babylonish captivity,\* it seemeth highly probable, that the method of distinguishing the months by their numerical order only was the most ancient, as it is the most plain, simple and rational.

† As the idolatrous Romans thus gave names to several of the months in honour of their pretended deities; so the like idolatry prevailing among our Saxon ancestors, induced them to call the days of the week by the name of the idol, which on that day they peculiarly worshipped. Hence

\* The first day of the week was by them called Sunday, from their accustomed adoration of the sun upon that day.

† The second day of the week they called Monday, from their usual custom of worshipping the moon on that day.

\* The third day of the week they named Tuesday, in honour of one of their idols called Tuisco.

† The fourth day of the week was called Wednesday, from the appellation of Woden, another of their idols.

\* The fifth day of the week was called Thursday, from the name of an idol called Thor, to whom they directed their devotions upon that day.

† The sixth day of the week was termed Friday, from the name of Friga, an imaginary goddess by whom worshipped.

\* The seventh day they styled Saturday, as is supposed from Saturn, or Seater, by them then worshipped.†

\* See the scriptures to the time of Ezra.

† See Verstegan and Sheringham.

By means of excellent principles of government, and the just and equal administration thereof, through the favour of Providence, Pennsylvania had enjoyed an almost uninterrupted peace for more than sixty years.

The industry, frugality, and security of the original Pennsylvanians, made this colony as flourishing during this period as it was peaceful. This state of the province, occasioned a great accession of people of different dispositions and views from the first settlers, who had resorted thither to share in its prosperity, to which they had contributed nothing: many of these soon discovered, that they begrudged the body of Friends the influence which they possessed in the state, and the place they had in the estimation of the people, although so justly entitled thereto; both on account of their being principally instrumental, to reduce the wilderness into a fruitful land, and bring the province to its present state of prosperity; as also on account of the equity and æconomy of their government, which had proved them faithful guardians of the public wealth: under their government the people had been long contented and happy; so that it is no wonder that in general they regarded them with cordial esteem.

But those who wanted to get possession of the polls of government they had enjoyed, and to reap the fruit of their labours, began to sow the seeds of discord and discontent, by decrying the public measures of Friends. As a self-interested policy prevailed, that mutual benevolence, which had distinguished the original colonists, decayed: private interest was more regarded by many than the public good, which gradually introduced jealousies, mistrusts and party animosities, whereby the system of happiness so long and so well maintained, suffered a lamentable reverse.

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## PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS. 315

The descendants of William Penn, who inherited his possessions and power, do not appear to have inherited his disinterestedness, or benevolence: they, and the governors under them, on sundry occasions adopted self-interested maxims of government. Not contented with the power and emoluments the constitution allowed them, they had extended and wanted still to extend their prerogatives further; and such of the Quakers as were members of the assembly, in conjunction with others, conceived it to be their civil as well as religious duty, in faithfulness to their constituents, to adhere firmly to the salutary regulations agreed upon between the early settlers and William Penn, which stood as a guard of the subjects rights, and as a bar to the encroachments and sinister designs of men lusting after the attainment of an undue power: under these impressions the assembly opposed all further innovations.

From this opposition to their selfish purposes, the governor and his partisans manifested an enmity to the body of this society; and having the ear of the proprietaries, exerted themselves to impress them with unfavourable sentiments of the society in general, and to create jealousies between them and the colonists, to set them at variance.

The enemies of this society also sought occasion to accomplish their designs, and about this time an opportunity presented. The hostilities of the French had been but little suspended by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in these remote parts; for while peace was ostensibly preserved in Europe, both in Asia and America hostile measures were carried on in a covert way, which discovered themselves in America by the incursions of the Indians into the back settlements of the English plantations, being instigated thereto by the French, as was generally understood; who killed and scalped many of the inhabitants, and carried others into captivity. The French at the same time



were busily employed in erecting a line of forts on the back of the English settlements, and in places, to the prior possession of which England laid claim. These infractions of a treaty so lately made, produced repeated complaints from the government of Great Britain without redress; they were principally answered by recriminations, so that at length the result was a declaration of war on both sides:

This circumstance furnished a plausible occasion to raise a popular cry for warlike preparations, against which the Quakers were principled; for their declining to enter into such measures they were treated with all the virulence of party rage: both the pulpit and the press were employed to calumniate them.

About this time means were used to get a law passed by the legislature of the lower counties on Delaware, for establishing a militia, and it seems to have been enacted in a temper, that paid no regard to the scruples of friends and others; but rather pointed to bring them under difficulties and sufferings.

By the prejudices raised in the minds of the proprietaries concerning them, or by their voluntary resignation, few Quakers in 1756 enjoyed any share in the executive part of government; and to elude the force of that spirit of envy and rancour, which had been artfully excited against them, and for the quiet of their own minds, several of them had avoided taking part in the legislature. On the approach of the annual election, notwithstanding much the greater number of the inhabitants were not of their society, yet such was the confidence reposed in those Quakers, that the former representatives who had not declined the service were rechosen, by the greatest majority ever known, and this was done not only without the solicitations, but in some instances without the privity or approbation of some  
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## PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS. 317

that were chosen, four of whom, being Quakers, at the first meeting of the house, resigned their seats.

Filled with vexation at their disappointment, they next exerted their endeavours to carry their point, by misrepresenting them on this side of the Atlantic; for this purpose they drew up the most pointed invectives, and procured them to be printed in pamphlets and in the English news-papers.

The general or half year's meeting was held in the third month of this year at Philadelphia in course, and notwithstanding the deeply exercising trials which affected this society at this time, they had a strengthening and edifying meeting, and, beside a great number of friends from different parts of the country, it was attended by Samuel Fothergill and Catharine Peyton from England, and Mary Peisley from Ireland; these being well qualified ministers and deeply experienced in the work of religion, their service was very helpful and instrumental to the consolation of their faith, patience, and stability in their religious principles.

During the time of this meeting an incident occurred which affected friends with still more gloomy apprehensions. The Indians about this time renewed their incursions on the back settlements of Pennsylvania, where they burned several houses and killed and scalped some of the inhabitants: this furnished an opportunity pleasing to the parties, who were clamorous for war, to promote their purpose, in order whereto, two or three of the dead bodies of those who had been murdered, were at this time brought in a waggon to Philadelphia, with a design to exasperate the citizens to vengeance. For they were taken before the State House door, and from thence conveyed through several streets, attended by a crowd of people, cursing the Indians and the Quakers also, because they were backward to promote warlike measures for their destruction.

The incursions of the Indians, and the dangers to which the frontier settlers were exposed, were much magnified, and furnished a plausible subject for more violent exclamations against the Quakers, and the absurdity of adhering to pacific principles, when the enemy was at the door: allegations of an alarming nature were now spread through the colonies, and through England, that the province would be absolutely lost, if speedy measures were not taken, to deprive the Quakers of any share in the government: these representations met a ready reception in England, and the blame of the whole was laid upon this people, who in fact were the least culpable of any.

For from their first settlement, and while the direction of public affairs was in their hands, the Indians were so far from making hostile incursions into any part of the province, that, being treated by them with justice and hospitality, in return for the kindness they had received from them, they (the native inhabitants) lived with the Pennsylvanians on the most friendly footing: they were sensibly impressed with compassion for the sufferers in this calamity, and as soon as they heard of the devastation committed by the enemy Indians on Gnadenhutzen, a settlement of the Moravians, on the frontier part of the county of Northampton, voluntarily raised a sum of money among them themselves, which was expended in provision and cloathing, and committed to the care of suitable persons for distribution among the sufferers.

And about the same time a subscription was set on foot, and a considerable sum of money contributed by the Quakers in the city, and some parts of the country, for the succour of the distressed inhabitants, who had abandoned their habitations on the western frontiers of the province; and taken refuge in the interior parts, which was in like manner distribut-  
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ed among them without distinction of sect or party, and proved a seasonable relief against the winter.

The annual meeting for Pennsylvania and New Jersey, (held in course in the 9th month of this year at Burlington) taking under consideration the distressed state of the frontier settlements of these provinces, and having grounds to apprehend that many of their brethren situated in parts immediately exposed to danger, might soon stand in need of assistance, agreed to raise the sum of 1000l. for this purpose: and as the exigencies of the society, by the continuance of war and the misrepresentations of their adversaries, required vigilant attention; this meeting, after approving the transactions of the committee, appointed in the preceding year, found it expedient to adopt a proposal of constituting a meeting for sufferings, and after considering and defining the services and trust to be committed to the said meeting, nominated twelve friends as representatives of the yearly meeting, and directed the respective Quarterly meetings to appoint four members each to represent them.

*The Services to be performed by the Meeting for Sufferings, in Philadelphia, viz.*

" To hear and consider the cases of any Friends under sufferings, and to administer relief as necessity is found to require, or to apply to the government or persons in power on their behalf.

" To correspond with the meeting for sufferings or the yearly meeting in London, and to represent the state of Friends here, and in general to represent this (the yearly) meeting, and appear in all cases where the reputation and interest of truth and our religious society are concerned, but not to interfere in matters of faith or discipline which are not already determined by the yearly meeting.



"To consider the uses and manner of application of charitable legacies and donations, and to advise respecting the titles of any land, or other estate belonging to the several meetings, &c.

"To receive an account from the several particular meetings, of any sufferings to which friends may be subjected for the testimony of truth.

"And that fair minutes of all their proceedings should be kept, and laid before the yearly meeting from time to time."

The annual election of representatives throughout the province for the present year, having lately past, and of those Quakers who had been re-elected, four of them, agreed to decline taking their seats; their reasons for which were set forth in a writing, directed to the speaker and house of assembly, where their request was considered, and allowed; so that, of thirty-six members, of which the whole house consisted, there were not more than twelve Quakers, and divers of them were not acknowledged members of that society.

The several quarterly meetings in the two provinces, appointed their representatives pursuant to the directions of the late yearly meeting, and the first meeting for sufferings for Pennsylvania, and New-Jersey, was held in Philadelphia, the 11th of 12th month (1756); at which the before-mentioned deputies from England attending, laid before the meeting several papers and two letters they had brought with them, relating to the business of their deputation.

The inimical disposition which had been so undeservedly raised against friends in Pennsylvania, manifested itself also in the three lower counties on Delaware, where the militia-law was executed with great rigour on the members of this society. At length the people divided into two parties, between the proprietaries and the assembly.

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In this circumstance, the people called Quakers, in conformity to their pacific principles, thought it their duty to caution their friends against mixing with the contending parties, so as to suffer their minds to be agitated with the prevailing heats and animosities. The meeting for sufferings also appointed a committee to labour to promote an amicable adjustment of their differences.

In the sixth month, 1757, a proclamation was published, appointing a day to be observed for a public fast; a committee, by appointment of the meeting for sufferings, had a conference with the governor and the mayor of the city, to whom they gave their reasons for not complying with observations enjoined by human authority. That meeting also published an apology, in justification of the practice of friends, and in support of their christian testimony against complying with human injunctions in matters relative to worship.

Although the members of this society could not consistently join in observing such a fast, they were sensibly affected on account of the calamitous state of the province, and the general disregard to religion prevailing amongst the inhabitants; and notwithstanding they were now mostly excluded from places of trust or power in the government, and by their christian principles averse to the shedding of blood; yet they exerted themselves from the first, not without some degree of success, to bring about a reconciliation with the natives. Soon after the first invasion of the frontiers of Virginia by the Indians in the French interest, divers of this religious society were led to turn their thoughts to those Indians who had been their old friends and neighbours, and to consider whether they and the government had demeaned themselves towards them with fidelity and justice. A little reflection convinced them there had been a deficiency. Some in their private capacity

city were willing to promote a good understanding with them, by giving them a testimony of their friendly regard: others of them used endeavours to prevail with the government (as more effectual) to enter into conciliating measures with them: but the proposal was not duly regarded, till the distressed state of the province brought many to more serious considerations, and convinced them that such measures were expedient and even necessary.

The friends who were principally active in promoting these measures, informed the ensuing yearly meeting of their proceedings, which were approved, and friends in general recommended to assist in promoting so good an undertaking: but this being business of a civil nature, the meeting did not think it properly belonged to them, as a religious body, to interfere further therein. Many friends and others promoted a friendly association for applying a sum of money for forwarding and preserving a peace with the Indians, a liberal subscription being made by them, the application whereof produced a salutary effect.

In the 7th month this year a treaty was opened between the government of Pennsylvania and the neighbouring Indians, at Easton in Northampton county. And several friends proposing to attend the treaty, to forward the desirable work of peace, the governor declared his disapprobation of their attendance at the treaty, or distinguishing themselves by giving the Indians any presents. Whereupon friends held several conferences as to the measures they should pursue; the result whereof was, that as mutual tokens of the revival of antient friendship had passed between them and the Indians with a view to promote a general peace, it might now be of bad consequence to decline, or neglect attending on this important occasion. In consequence of this determination, several friends from Philadelphia and elsewhere

elsewhere, proceeded on their journey to Easton, and attended the treaty.

In the afternoon of the same day that they arrived there, the Indians with Teedyuscung, their chief, waited on the governor, and signified the sincerity of their intentions to promote peace; when he desired that, as things had heretofore been misunderstood or forgotten, he might have the liberty to choose a clerk to take minutes of the transactions of the treaty; which request being twice evaded, it gave the Indians considerable uneasiness, as apprehending treacherous dealing; but by the interposition of friends in conferring with them, and making them a small present, they were pacified. At the next meeting the governor consented to allow them a clerk, and they proceeded to the business of the treaty. The first demand Teedyuscung made was, that of satisfaction for the injury a messenger of theirs had received, who, being sent to the remote Indians, in his return was shot by one of the provincials, and at this time lay dangerously ill of the wound. The satisfaction he demanded was, that if the wounded man should die, the aggressor should be tried by the laws of the colony and suffer death in like manner. This demand seemed not well relished by some persons, who wished rather to retard peace than to forward it: the next day there was no public treaty; all things seemed to be in confusion; during which time friends kept quiet, waiting for opportunities wherein they might hope to be more successful in their well-meant endeavours, being very earnest to procure peace for the province, and to pursue the most effectual means for obtaining security to the frontier settlements.

Upon this occasion the friends concerned thought it necessary, in their own justification, to explain and vindicate their conduct in an address to their governor, William Denny, esq.



What impression this address made on the governor I am not informed, but if a favourable one, he and his coadjutors suffered their minds afterwards to be biased by popular rumours; for, in the beginning of 1759, the governor and his council transmitted to England a report of a committee, by them appointed, to enquire into the dissatisfaction and claims upon the Indians, containing insinuations calculated to asperse the Quakers, and injure their reputation with the British government.

Thus Pennsylvania, which for a series of years from its first settlement, had been remarkably distinguished for the public and private virtues; was now disturbed, and its peace destroyed by party dissensions and mutual distrusts. And now also the simplicity of manners, which had been the ornament of the state, the safe-guard of its virtue, and the foundation of its prosperity, was in danger of being subverted; for an attempt was made, in imitation of the populous cities of Europe, to introduce into Philadelphia the refinements of voluptuousness, and a taste for sensual gratifications, by erecting a theatre for exhibiting stage-plays; entertainments which the Quakers (as well as the most considerate part of other religious societies) have ever deemed incompatible with the doctrines of the gospel and the practice of the best men in the earliest ages of the christian church. The members of this society in Philadelphia thought it their duty to bear their testimony against this attempt, by an address to the general assembly, in which they were at this time so successful, that a law was passed prohibiting such entertainments.

The honest endeavours of friends to promote a reconciliation with the Indians, and the success attending them, gave a new edge to the acrimony of their opposers. A lawless spirit was industriously fomented amongst the most ignorant and ferocious inhabitants

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inhabitants of the frontiers, as appears by the following account.

A small body of Indians, the remains of a tribe of the six nations, were settled at a place called Conestogoe. On the first arrival of the English in Pennsylvania, messengers from this tribe came to welcome them, and brought them presents of venison, corn, and skins; and the whole tribe entered into a treaty of friendship with William Penn. This treaty was to last as long as the sun should shine, or the waters run in the rivers. The treaty had been frequently renewed, and the chain brightened, as they express it, from time to time. As their lands by degrees came mostly into the hands of the white people by successive purchases, the proprietor assigned them lands on the manor of Conestogoe to be retained for their own use and habitation. There they lived many years in friendship with their European neighbours and their descendants, by whom they were regarded with affection for their inoffensive behaviour.

This tribe was greatly diminished, as there remained in their town no more than twenty persons, viz. seven men, five women, and eight children. This little society continued the custom, which they had begun when they were a more numerous body, of addressing every new governor, and every descendant of the first proprietor, welcoming him to the province, assuring him of their fidelity, and requesting a continuance of that favour they had hitherto experienced. They had sent up an address of the same kind to the present governor, John Penn.

The address was but just delivered, and the new governor scarce settled in his government, when on the 14th of 12th month, 1763, fifty-seven men from some of the frontier settlements, surrounded the small village of Indian huts, and just at the dawn  
of

of day broke into them all at once. Only two men, three women, and a young boy were found at home, the rest being absent about their lawful occasions. These poor defenceless creatures were immediately fired upon, stabbed, and hatchetted to death. The good Shæhæes\* among the rest they cut to pieces in his bed; all of them were scalped and otherwise horribly mangled; their huts were set on fire and most of them burned down. The assassins then rode off, and in small parties, by different roads went home.

The tidings of this transaction filled the neighbouring white people, who were not abettors, with dismay and abhorrence. And the lamentations of the younger Indians, when they returned, and beheld the butchered, half-burned bodies of their murdered relations, were affecting to the last degree.

The magistrates of Lancaster sent out to collect the remaining Indians, brought them into the town for greater security, and promised them protection. They were all put into the work-house, a strong building, as the place of greatest safety.

The news of this disgraceful action soon reached Philadelphia; whereupon a proclamation was issued by the governor, charging all officers, civil and military, and all other liege subjects, to make diligent search after the authors and perpetrators of the

\* Shæhæes (as described in the narrative) was a very old man, having assisted at the second treaty, held with the Indians by William Penn, in 1701, and ever since continued a faithful and affectionate friend to the English, he is said to have been an exceeding good man, considering his education, being of a most kind and benevolent temper. It is said that he being before told, that it was to be feared, that some English might come from the frontiers into the country, and murder him and his people, he replied, "It is impossible: there are Indians indeed in the woods, who would kill me and mine, if they could get at us, for my friendship to the English; but the English will wrap me up in their match-coats, and secure me from all danger." How lamentably was he mistaken!

crime, their abettors and accomplices, and to use all possible means to apprehend them, that they might be proceeded against according to law : but neither the precaution of placing the Indians in a place of security, nor the proclamation issued by the governor intimidated them from prosecuting their purpose. Having got intelligence that the remaining fourteen Indians were in the work-house of Lancaster, on the 27th of the same month, they entered that town (which is large and populous, containing several thousand inhabitants) fifty of them armed as before, dismounting, went directly to the work-house, broke open the door, and murdered all the Indians, men, women, and innocent infants.

The rioters then mounted their horses, huzza'd in triumph, and rode off—unmolested. Although a number of soldiers were then in the barracks there, whose officers declared they were ready to assist the magistrates, if they had been called upon, and, by their conduct afterwards manifested their willingness and ability to do so.

Upon this second massacre, a second proclamation was issued by the governor, which produced no discovery; the murderers and their partisans having given out such threatenings against those who disapproved their proceedings, that the whole country seemed to be terrified, and not one durst discover what he knew; even letters from thence were unsigned, in which any dislike to these shocking enormities was expressed.

Having proceeded so far with impunity, it increased their insolence; filled with rage against all Indians, they seemed determined to destroy them in like manner, in defiance of the government itself, they prevailed with others to join them, with a view to increase the number of offenders, so much as to render it dangerous or difficult to bring them to justice



justice. There yet remained a number of friendly Indians, who had put themselves under the protection of government, by whose orders they were removed to Philadelphia, from the plantations, on which most of them had lived many years under the care of the Moravians, by whose missionaries they had been brought to the profession of the christian religion, and lived soberly and peaceably on the fruit of their own industry.

From the intelligence received from time to time of the design of the rioters to destroy these Indians in the barracks, it was resolved by government to remove them, first to the Province-island, as a place of greater safety; and afterwards to convey them out of the province, and commit them to the immediate care of Sir William Johnson, the king's agent for Indian affairs; and the general at New York. They were accordingly sent through the province of New Jersey as far as Amboy; but the governor of New York refusing them admittance into his province, they were soon after ordered to return to Philadelphia, and general Gage sending a number of soldiers for their protection on their return, they were lodged in the barracks. The rioters, as soon as they heard of the return of the Indians, assembled again in numbers.

On the 4th of the month, called February, 1764, the governor receiving information that the rioters were on their march towards the city, called the inhabitants together, to consult them upon such measures as he thought advisable for preventing the intended mischief; numbers shewed more readiness than was expected to support his authority. About midnight succeeding the following day, fresh advice was received of their near approach, and precautions being taken to prevent their passing the ferries over the river, and a very heavy rain having raised the fords, retarded their march. They came down to Germantown,

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Germantown; about six miles from Philadelphia, from whence they sent their spies into the city, to observe the preparations of the government against them; and by their intelligence, finding they were likely to meet with a different reception from that which they had experienced at Lancaster, they thought it safest to return home without effecting their purpose. Possibly this account of these murders and riots may appear foreign to our subject, and thus far it is so; but the Quakers, although they could have no concern in such actions, yet they were very causelessly involved in the consequences. When the rioters came to Germantown, and found themselves frustrated in their designs, they dropped their menaces of destroying the Indians, and began to complain of grievances.\* A paper unsigned had been delivered to the governor, as from the rioters on their march, though it was doubted whether many of them were acquainted with the contents, and whether it was not rather the composition of some of their abettors.

On the 7th of the month some persons, by the governor's authority, went to meet them, and inquire into the reason of their tumultuous appearance. It appeared in the conference held with them, that these people were much deluded through invidious misrepresentations, which had raised their prejudice against the government. In fine, their leaders engaged they should return home, two of them being agreed upon to represent the rest, in order to lay the grievances they pretended they were under before the governor, and the assembly then sitting.

A declaration of their intentions, and a remonstrance of their grievances were presented to the

\* The frontiers were mostly inhabited by emigrants from the north of Ireland and their descendants, and Germans; the latter, though solicited, to their reputation, refused to join with, and have any concern in these iniquitous proceedings.

legislature;

legislature; and the meeting for sufferings at Philadelphia receiving information that the said declaration and remonstrance contained groundless reflections on the Quakers as a society, they applied to the governor, requesting a copy of each, which he readily granted; whereupon they agreed upon an address, in answer thereto, which they presented to the governor.

As the behaviour of the Quakers towards the Indians had been regulated by a strict regard to equity, morality, and religion; the rioters looking upon it in an invidious light, and as reproaching their own vindictive temper and conduct, they went beyond all bounds of truth in abusive representations of that people.

George II. was succeeded by his grandson George III. our present sovereign, son to Frederick, late prince of Wales, who died in 1751 generally lamented. Addresses being sent up from all quarters, the Quakers in London, also appointed a deputation, to address the king, and the princess Dowager; both which were favourably received.

A case occurs in this year, whereby the validity of the discipline of this society was brought to a legal trial. Mary Jerom, a young woman of Nottingham, who had been educated by her parents in this society, and by them left in possession of considerable property, having been, in various parts of her conduct, inconsistent with the religious principles of this people, and for some time neglected meetings of divine worship; she had also imbibed notions, contrary to scripture; wherefore her conduct came under the cognizance of friends of Nottingham monthly meeting. According to the discipline of the society, they appointed friends to pay her visits, to use endeavours to reclaim her; but she rejected their admonition, and persisted

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in the same line of conduct. The meeting therefore, after a deliberate consideration of the case, thought it necessary to bear a testimony of their disunity with her sentiments and conduct; which being drawn up, it was read after the time of worship in the meeting-house of Nottingham, by Francis Hart, clerk of the monthly meeting, and a copy thereof handed to her a few days after; she was so mortified and provoked by this act of discipline, that upon an affidavit of the publication thereof by Francis Hart, by reading the same, &c. she moved the court of King's Bench for an information against him for a libel, but the court, refused to grant a rule even to shew cause.

Although disappointed in this first application, she on the 12th of 3d month, 1762, preferred an indictment for a libel against Francis Hart, at the assizes at Nottingham. Having prevailed with the grand jury to find the bill, to which Hart pleaded not guilty, the cause was tried at Nottingham the 30th of 3d month, 1762, before Judge Clive: the jury after deliberating about three hours upon the matter, brought in their verdict, finding the defendant guilty, contrary to the general expectation of those who were present at the trial, who, from the judge's charge to the jury, were persuaded that he would have been acquitted.

Neither could the judge forbear expressing his surprise. Francis Hart, finding himself aggrieved by this verdict, did, by advice of his counsel on the 10th of 11th month, 1762, move the court of King's Bench for a new trial. On hearing the cause opened by his counsel, which was confirmed by the judge, who tried the cause, who added his dissatisfaction at the verdict found by the jury, the court ordered the prosecutrix's counsel, Sergeant Hewit, if he had any cause to shew against the motion, he should urge it then, for that they would not give



give so much countenance to the prosecution, as to make a rule to shew cause; and accordingly the court made an absolute rule for a new trial. Immediately upon which Sergeant Hewit told two friends then present, that if the plaintiff would be advised by him, he would take care the defendant or his friends should have no further trouble; and, as far as appears, there was no further procedure in the matter.

The termination of this affair did not only release this worthy man from further trouble; but had a beneficial tendency to discourage others from similar proceedings.

The nation had been for several years engaged in a war with France, which was at last terminated by a treaty of peace concluded at Paris, the 10th of March, 1763. In consequence whereof friends, at their ensuing yearly meeting, thought it expedient to draw up an address to the king, which being done was presented by a deputation of the said meeting and read by John Fothergill, who introduced it with the following preface.

"I think myself happy in being appointed once more to convey the sentiments of the people called Quakers to the king, and at the same time to have in my power to acquaint him, that the address which I beg leave to offer to the king, was proposed and solemnly and unanimously agreed to in a very large assembly of the aforesaid people; the only difficulty attending it being the choice of terms sufficiently strong, in which to express our duty and affection."

To George III. King of Great Britain and the dominions thereunto belonging.

The humble address of his Protestant subjects the people called Quakers.

May it please the king,

‘ Being met in this our annual assembly from various parts of Great Britain and Ireland, for the worship of Almighty God, and the promotion of piety and virtue, we embrace the opportunity which the restoration of peace affords us, to testify our affection to thy royal person and family, and our dutiful submission to thy government.

‘ To a people professing that the use of arms is to them unlawful; a people who reverence the glorious gospel declaration of good will to men, and who earnestly wish for the universal establishment of peace, its return must be highly acceptable.

‘ To stop the effusion of blood, to ease the burden of thy people, and terminate the calamities that afflict so large a part of the globe, we are persuaded are thy motives to effect the present pacification; motives so just in themselves, so full of benevolence and humility, demand our united and cordial approbation.

‘ May the Sovereign of the Universe, who created nations of one blood, dispose the minds of princes by such examples, to learn other means of reconciling their jarring interests and contentions, than the ruin of countries and destruction of mankind.

‘ The proofs we have received of thy royal condescension and indulgence, the lasting impressions of gratitude to the memory of the kings of thy illustrious house, fill our hearts at this time with the warmest sentiments of affection and duty.

‘ Strongly

‘ Strongly impressed by such sentiments, we return to our respective habitations, with full purpose to cultivate as much as in us lies, a spirit of harmony and concord, so essentially necessary to the dignity of the crown and happiness of the subject. May God, the source of every blessing, the fountain of every excellence, ever graciously direct thy steps and preserve thee long to rule over thy extensive dominions, with that wisdom, moderation and equity, which effectually secure to princes the cheerful obedience of their people, and transmit their names with deserved honour to posterity.’

To which the king was pleased to return the following answer.

‘ These repeated assurances of your affection to my person and family, and of your duty to my government, are agreeable to me, and cannot fail to insure to you the continuance of my protection.’

During these transactions, several members of this society, of eminent usefulness among their brethren, had been removed by death, for accounts of whom we refer the reader to the 4th volume of Gough’s history, and to the several journals of their lives.

The affairs of this society furnishing but few remarkable materials for history at this period of time, we shall conclude in the words of Robert Barclay: “ Though we be few in number, in respect of others, and weak as to outward strength, which we also altogether reject, and foolish if compared with the wise ones of this world; yet as God hath prospered us, notwithstanding much opposition, so will he yet do, that neither the art, wisdom, nor violence of men or devils shall be able to quench that *little spark* that hath appeared; but it shall grow to the consuming of whatsoever shall stand up to oppose it.”

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INDEX

ABER  
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Act of T  
keeping  
tion, 28  
Address, a  
Affirmation  
300.  
Alexander,  
America, 1  
Anne, Que  
Tolerati  
Ashfield, R

sailey, W  
samif, hun  
anks, Joh  
ings, Ben  
arclay, D  
death, 16  
arclay, R  
Students  
lif, 44.  
death, 17  
arbadocs,  
arnadiston,

# I N D E X.

TO VOL. II.

**A**BERDEEN, sufferings there, page 41. The prisoners preach to the people, 44. Cruelly treated in the Tolbooth, and removed to Bamff, 49 and 50. A law made to disfranchise Quakers, &c. 269.  
Act of Toleration passed, 174. To prevent dissenters from keeping schools, 270. For accepting the solemn Affirmation, 285.  
Address, an uncouth one, falsely attributed to the Quakers, 161.  
Affirmation, requested to be used instead of an oath, 221, 225, 300.  
Alexander, Anthony, distressed for a fine, 20.  
America, 123, &c. 203 and 242.  
Anne, Queen, declares her resolution to maintain the act of Toleration, 263. Her death, 270.  
Ashfield, Richard, dies in Newgate, 27.

## B.

Bailey, William, dies at sea, 16.  
Bamff, humane Magistrates there, 50.  
Banks, John, visits Ireland, 55.  
Banks, Benjamin, ditto, 105.  
Barclay, David, and others, fined at Aberdeen, 43. His death, 167.  
Barclay, Robert, writes his Apology, 15. Disputes with the Students of Aberdeen, 39. Applies to the king for relief, 44. Visits seven Bishops in the Tower, 172. His death, 178.  
Barbadoes, general imprisonment there, 110.  
Barnadiston, Giles, account of, 88.

Barrow,



## I N D E X.

- Barrow, Robert, visits America, 242. His various sufferings, 243. Shipwrecked, 246. Ill treated by some Indians, 247. His death, 254.
- Barry, James, preaches against friends, 184.
- Bennet, Ambrose, his violent behaviour, 32.
- , William, an account of, 100.
- Bill, in the House of Commons for relieving friends on account of Tithes, 303.
- Bishops, seven sent to the Tower, 171.
- Bishop of Ossory, his conduct, 292, &c.
- Lincoln, his dislike to persecution, 307.
- Blunt, Anthony, (Sheriff) his kindness, 294.
- Bownas, Samuel, insulted by George Keith, 274. Imprisoned in America by means of George Keith and William Bradford, 275. Menaced by the judge, 277. Released, 279.
- Brasley, Thomas, sent to prison, 16.
- Bridgman, (Sir) Orlando, remits his fees, 2.
- Bristol, riots and sufferings there, 71.
- Burnyeat, John, taken before the Mayor of Dublin, 108. Visits Barbadoes, Maryland and Virginia, 121; America a second time, 123. His death, 201.
- Burr, Thomas, imprisoned at Norwich, 65,

## C.

- Captivity of Robert Barrow, Jonathan Dickenson and others, 249.
- Cavan, in Ireland, sufferings there, 189.
- Charles II. see King.
- Cheshire, fines levied there, 24.
- Chalkley, Thomas, visits the Indians at Conestigo, 283.
- Children, of Bristol sent to Bridewell for attending Meetings for worship, 78.
- Cooper, Robert, his sufferings, 19.
- Conventicle Act, causes great sufferings, 18, 24. Ruinous fines imposed by, 41.
- Creson, Solomon, his captivity, 247.
- Crook, John, an account of, 232.
- Crisp, Stephen, an account of him, 217.

## D.

- Days and Months, reasons for retaining the numerical names of, 312, &c.
- Dickenson, Jonathan, his captivity, 246.

Dissenters,

# INDEX.

Dissenters, ordered not to meet publickly, 108.  
 Dittraint, excessive at Bristol, 72. In London, 86.  
 Dobson, William, dies in prison, 26.  
 Docwra, Thomas, fined for preaching, 24.  
 Dunn, William, and his sons, ungrateful to W. Edmundson, &c, 192.

## E.

Edmundson, William, and Robert Jackson, prosecuted in the bishops court for tithes, 107. Goes to the West Indies, 111. Refused admittance into Nevis, 113. Visits Barbadoes a second time, 117. Visits America, 125. At Reading there, visits a garrison, 139. At New Hertford, 143. At Long Island disturbed by Ranters, 145. In London, 149. In Ireland, and spoiled of his goods, &c. 184, 190. Made a prisoner with his sons, and threatened to be shot, 196. His wife ill treated, 198. A snare laid for his life, 199.  
 Elizabeth, Princess, a visit to her, &c. 58 and 63.  
 Ellwood, Thomas, answers William Rogers, 99.  
 Embden, Friends, under oppresssion there, 62.  
 Estangh, John, and Richard Grove, taken by a French privateer and carried to Martinico, 280.  
 Eschequer, processes on the act of 23d. of Elizabeth, stayed.

## F.

Falkenstein, Countess of, 63.  
 Fox, George, returns from America, 3. Sent with Thomas Lower to Worcester jail, 6. Accused of a plot, 10. Premunured, 13. Removed by habeas corpus, and discharged, 14. Writ of rebellion against him and wife, 70. Visits the West Indies, 111. In America, 125. His death, 179.  
 Fox, Margaret, fined for preaching, 24. An account of, 264.  
 Frederickstadt, in Holstein, sufferings there, 268. The Czar of Russia attends Friends meeting there, 269.  
 Fretwell, Ralph, (Judge) convinced, 112.  
 Fuller, William, prosecuted as an impostor, fined and pilloried, 176.

## G.

Gibson, William, an account of, 150.  
 Gill, Roger, visits America, 257. Dies of the Yellow Fever, 259.  
 Gloucestershire, arbitrary proceedings there, 25.  
 Governors, or Generalists, 133.

VOL. II.

## Q

Greenwood,

Dissenters,

## I N D E X.

Greenwood, James, and Ann, his wife, an account of, 241.  
 Gregson, George, an account of, 201.  
 Gwynedd, Thomas, an account of, 158

### H.

Hale, Matthew, (Judge) his moderation, 14.  
 Hall, William, fined, 201. for a meeting at his house, 16.  
 Hart Francis, tried for a libel, on account of reading publick.  
 ly a testimony of denial, 330.  
 Helliar, an attorney, a great persecutor at Bristol, 71.  
 Hereford, severe prosecutions there, 22.  
 Holland, several Friends visit that country, 24. Transactions  
 there, 36.  
 Holme, Benjamin, visits Ireland, 289. Seized by a priest, 160.  
 Hooton, Elizabeth, an account of, 115.  
 Hornes, Anna Maria, Countess of, 59 and 63.  
 Hicks, Thomas, a Baptist preacher, writes against Friends, 4.  
 Hill, Elizabeth, and Elizabeth Hilton, grossly abused, 80.

### I.

Indians, suffer by Rum, 205, note. Visited by Friends, 206.  
 Massacred, 325.  
 Informers, their rapacity, 100. False witnesses, 164. Com-  
 missioners appointed to inquire into their irregularities, 163.  
 Brought to an account, 169.  
 Ireland, persecution there, 51, 104, 183. War in consequence  
 of King James's landing, 188. Friends assisted by those of  
 London and Barbadoes, 194.

### J.

Jaffray, Andrew, an account of, 37.  
 Jail, Newgate, at Bristol, lives endangered therein, 73.  
 Jailer, at Bristol, his repentance, 82.  
 Jay, John, recovered from a fall, 136.  
 Jury, overawed by the justices, 22.

### K.

Keith, George, his conduct, 207, 255. Deserts his followers,  
 271. Leaves America, settles in Suffex, 279.  
 King Charles II. grants letters patent for the release of  
 Friends, 1. Letters of indulgence to all Nonconformists, 35.  
 His death, 161.

King  
 King  
 King  
 Knight  
 Lanca  
 Laws,  
 Lincoln  
 Lindly,  
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 Living  
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 Longwo  
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 Fox i  
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 Marshall  
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 peace  
 Meeting  
 Melvil, C  
 Menzies,  
 Meredith  
 Morris,  
 Musgrave

Namptwi  
 Nottingh  
 Norton, I

## I N D E X.

King James, address'd by Friends, 162.  
 ———, deserts England and goes to France, 188.  
 ———, lands in Ireland, but forced to retire, 190.  
 King William, and Mary his queen, elected, 173.  
 ———, in Ireland, 192.  
 ———, his death, 234.  
 King George, I. his accession, 284.  
 ———, III. address'd on occasion of the peace, 332.  
 Knight, Sheriff of Bristol, a persecutor, 71 and 84.

### L.

Lancaster, James, and John Stubbs, banished from Boston, 132.  
 Laws, respecting ecclesiastical affairs suspended, 170.  
 Lincolnshire, sufferings there, 29.  
 Lindly, Richard, a blind man, imprisoned, near 90 years of age, 81.  
 Livingstone, Patrick, and James Holiday, imprisoned at Aberdeen,  
 Longworth, Roger, sent to prison as a papist, 29.  
 Lower, Thomas, refuses his liberty, choosing to wait on Geo. Fox in prison, 9.

### M.

Martin, James, visits America, 203.  
 Martinico, Friends carried there by a French privateer, 280.  
 Mary, Queen of England dies, 221.  
 Marshall, Charles, an account of, 229.  
 Meeting for Sufferings in London petition King William, 223, and renew their application to parliament 225, also 227. Send an address to the ambassadors met to conclude a treaty of peace at Aix-la-Chapelle, 310.  
 Meeting in Philadelphia established, 319.  
 Melvil, George, (Capt.) makes excessive distrains, 45.  
 Menzies, John, stirs up persecution, 34.  
 Meredith, John, a persecutor, 25.  
 Morris, William, an account of, 104.  
 Musgrave, Sir Christopher, speaks his mind, 69.

### N.

Namptwich, sufferings there, 16.  
 Nottinghamshire, distresses made there, 21.  
 Norton, Katharine, an account of, 55.

Q<sup>2</sup>

New



# INDEX.

New England, an act made there against Quakers, repealed by Queen Anne, 265.  
New Jersey, 120.

## O.

Oaths, sufferings on account thereof, 35, 299.  
Origin of the names of days, months, &c. 312.  
Owen, Robert, and wife, an account of, 203.  
Oxford act, commitment on, 72.  
—— Riots there, 286.

## P.

Parker, Henry, a persecutor, 6.  
—— Alexander, an account of, 174.  
Party animosities break out, 266.  
Pattison George, 126.  
Penn, William, goes to Holland and Germany, 56. Visits the Princess Elizabeth, &c. 58. Takes shipping for America, 154. His treaty with the Indians, 155. Returns to England, 161. Suffers on account of his intimacy with King James, 173 and 175. Cleared by the court of King's Bench, and wrongfully accused by William Fuller, 176. Before the Privy Council, 178. Visits the western counties, 224, and Ireland 236. Interrupted in Wexford county, 238. Goes to America, 259. Arrives in England, 262.  
Pennsylvania, 151. General Meeting, 205. Friends rejected from the government of, 314.  
Perrington, Isaac, an account of, 29.  
Perry, a justice of peace, prosecuted for attending a meeting, 267.  
Petition of the Norfolk priests, &c. withdrawn, 229.  
Plymouth, violent proceedings there, 26.  
Plympton, John, abuses Friends, 237.  
Plot, popish, discovered, and occasions Friends to suffer, 28.  
An address presented to the King on account of, 95.  
Poole, William, a constable at Norwich, his confession, 20.  
Priests, of Norfolk, and Francis Bugg, vilify the Quakers, 228.  
Prisoners, generally released, 3. One hundred and sixty at Bristol, 77. About fifteen hundred at the death of King Charles II. 104. Generally released, 163. On account of tithes, 223.  
Protestants, persecuted; and nearly fifty thousand come to England, 169. Suffer in Ireland, 185 and 200.

Randal,  
Reading  
Rebellion

Richard  
Rigge,  
Risdale,  
Rogers,  
Rous, T

Salthouse  
Sachever  
Sunson,  
Sayton,  
Scotland,  
appoint  
jects to  
bellic  
Selcock,  
Sharp, A  
Simpson,  
Skein J  
—— Ge  
Sturdy, T  
Story, Th  
prisoner  
of the  
Keith i

Taylor, T  
Thornton,  
Tilley, S  
Tithes, si  
imprison  
account  
Commo  
Vexation

# INDEX.

## R.

- Randal, Elliot, his sufferings, 16.  
 Reading in America, William Edmundson there, 139.  
 Rebellion, writ of, issued on account of small tithes, 70.  
 ——— in Scotland, 162 and 286.  
 Richardson, John, opposed by George Keith, 272.  
 Rigge, Ambrose, some account of, 264.  
 Riddale, Hannah, imprisoned, 308.  
 Rogers, William, his opposition, 99.  
 Rous, Thomas, of Barbadoes, 112.

## S.

- Salthouse, Thomas, an account of 180.  
 Sacheverel, impeached, 266.  
 Sanfom, Oliver, visits Ireland, 55.  
 Sayton, John, fined; his appeal to the quarter sessions, 21.  
 Scotland, transactions there, 34. At Aberdeen, commissioners appointed on the Conventicle Act, 41. David Barclay objects to the proceedings of the commissioners, &c. 42. Rebellion there, 286, 306.  
 Selcock, John, and others, greatly abused, 25.  
 Sharp, Anthony, and Alexander Seaton, imprisoned, 109.  
 Simpson, Launcelot, a violent prosecutor, 102.  
 Skein, John, his faithfulness, 45.  
 ——— George, a malicious provost of Aberdeen, 47.  
 Stordy, Thomas, dies in Carlisle jail, 101.  
 Story, Thomas, an account of, 213. Visits Ireland, 236. Imprisoned there, 294 and 298. In America, 257. His account of the plague in Philadelphia, 258. Challenged by Geo. Keith in America, 273. Goes to Ireland, 291.

## T.

- Taylor, Thomas, an account of, 91.  
 Thornton, Samuel, and eighty persons imprisoned, 51.  
 Tilley, Samuel, of Bristol, a persecutor, 75.  
 Tithes, small, sued for in the Exchequer, 70. Many Friends imprisoned on account of, 223. Case of the Quakers, on account of, 301. Bill for relief brought into the House of Commons, 303. Facts relating to grievous sufferers, 304. Vexatious methods of prosecution for, 307.

Vickers,

# I N D E X.

## V.

Vickers, Robert, account of, 83. Sentenced to abjure the realm or suffer death, 85. His wife procures his discharge, 86.

## W.

War in America with the Indians, 138.  
 — in Ireland, by which Friends suffer greatly, 189.  
 Wardell, Robert, visits the West Indies and dies in Jamaica, 242.  
 Webber, George, and Stephen Harris, imprisoned and cruelly treated, 51.  
 Wells, in Somersetshire, the meeting interrupted there, 224.  
 West Indies, 109. Visited by Friends, from London, 111.  
 Widders, Robert, visits America, 126.  
 Wilkinson, John, and John Story, 96.  
 Willson, Thomas, and his wife persecuted, 19.  
 Whitehead, John, imprisoned in Lincoln Castle, 78.  
 Whitewell, Francis, an account of, 159.  
 Whitehead, George, assists the Dissenters, 2. Ill-treated, and made prisoner at Norwich, 65. Severely fined, 71. His account of sufferings in London, 87. In Cheshire and Huntingdonshire, 88.  
 Whitehead, Anne, an account of, 168.

## Y.

Yellow Fever in America, in 1699, 258.

7 AP 59

F I N I S.

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